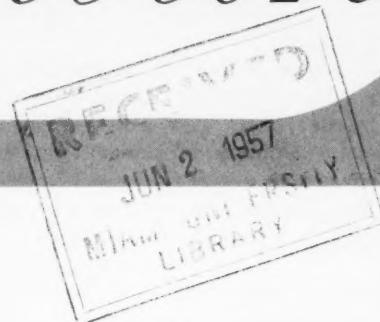




Bulletin



Vol. XXXVI, No. 935

May 27, 1957

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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Tasks Ahead for the Free World

by Robert R. Bowie

Assistant Secretary for Policy Planning¹

This occasion has inspired me to peer ahead in international affairs. It is impossible to predict in detail how the world will look in 5 years, much less in 10. It may not be quite so hopeless to identify the factors which will influence the outcome and to appraise their direction. In any case that will be my endeavor.

In doing so, I will consider two questions:

One is: What basic forces, other than our own actions, are likely to shape world affairs over the next 5 or 10 years? The other is: What goals or objectives should we set for ourselves in the face of that kind of world?

Basic Forces and Trends

First, then, what are the basic factors and trends that are at work in the world? Leaving aside our own actions, it seems to me that one can isolate at least four forces which are crucial. Let me explain briefly what these four are and why they seem central.

Soviet Power

The first is the obvious one: Soviet power.

Over the past 4 decades the Soviet system has shown itself to have great capacity for survival. It has gone through a remarkable variety of challenges: the abuse of its rulers, the chaos of invasion, the death of Stalin. It has managed to survive all these strains and stresses and to solve the problem of succession, at least so far.

Moreover, the Soviet Union has shown great

capacity for growth and for increase in its power, both economic and military. Over quite a long period it has maintained a very rapid rate of growth—in the last 5 years, for example, something of the order of 7 percent a year. And in the industrial sector, where they have concentrated their effort, the Soviets have achieved a growth rate of about 10 to 12 percent.

These are high rates of growth compared with those of other industrial countries, including our own, where the rates are much nearer 4 percent. Soviet growth has been bought, of course, at terrible cost in human welfare and freedom. It has been done at the expense of the consumer and agriculture. These demands will certainly loom larger in the future.

Indeed their rate of growth may well slow down somewhat. Even so, we must still assume that the next decade will show steady Soviet growth, especially in the industrial sector.

Now that prospect has obvious implications, both for Soviet military capability and for its ability to assist Communist countries like China and also, if it wishes, underdeveloped countries, as it has been doing.

But this is only half the picture. We should also recognize that there are major pressures for change within the Soviet Union.

These are largely inherent in the evolution of Soviet society. To achieve their growth, the Soviet leaders have had to train and educate their people. They have now developed an industrial society—over 50 percent of the population is urban and industrial. And these factors gradually increase the demands for greater legality, for better living conditions, for more freedom, for wider dispersion of authority, and so on. Simi-

¹ Address made before the American Society of International Law at Washington, D. C., on Apr. 27. At a business session on Apr. 27 the Society reelected Secretary Dulles as its honorary president.

larly, in the satellites there are the pressures for national independence which erupted in Hungary and Poland.

Over time, these forces are surely going to bring changes within the Soviet Union and in its relation to the satellites. But they do not threaten to disrupt the Soviet system or materially to reduce its strength. And a long time will probably be required to erode its expansionist tendencies.

So the first basic factor, it seems to me, is the fact of growing Soviet power, which will probably remain hostile over the next decade.

The Revolution in Warfare

The second major fact is also one with which you are fully familiar, I am sure. This is the revolution in military technology resulting from superweapons.

Destructive capacity has been multiplied by a factor of a million as compared with the largest weapons of the last war. Today a single plane can deliver explosive force over four times as great as all the bombs dropped during World War II.

Even when these facts are familiar, it is hard for our thinking—the thinking of any of us—to take in their meaning. But it is clear that they have utterly altered the significance of war and deprived large-scale warfare of rational political purpose. Conversely, they have put a tremendous premium on maintaining peace and stable conditions which will not give rise to armed conflict.

What will be the consequences in a world where two powers have or shortly will have this capacity for mutual obliteration? It is hard to foresee. It could give rise to blackmail of nations which do not have these capabilities. It could give rise to temptations to local aggression under the supposed shield of atomic stalemate. Or, under some conditions, it could perhaps give rise to a considerable degree of stability based on mutual deterrence.

How the situation actually develops will turn on many other factors besides the weapons themselves. Not least of these will be the degree of instability in areas of the world outside the borders of the Soviet Union and the United States. What happens, for instance, in the satellites, what happens in areas like the Middle East, what

happens in the Far East, will all have a bearing on whether these weapons make for stability or make for greater instability, blackmail, local war, and the like.

Afro-Asian Revolution

The third major factor shaping our world arises from the radical changes taking place in Asia and Africa. Here within the last decade some 700 million people have achieved national independence and created some 19 new nations.

The people in these countries are driven by the aspiration to improve their economic lot. Their societies are now marked by the most extreme poverty. Their per capita national income averages about one-tenth of that in the industrialized countries of the West. These countries are determined to improve their economic conditions. They believe it is possible, and they are demanding that it be done.

The obstacles to their improvement are fantastic. There is the sheer fact of poverty itself. There is the illiteracy, which is typically 80 or 90 percent. There is the serious scarcity of skills. There is the great shortage of capital. There is the lack of those habits of mind and custom, of self-discipline and managerial experience essential for economic progress.

Thus their task in trying to achieve economic development is staggering. Yet their success or failure is going to determine very largely the political course in these countries. If moderate leaders, as in India, are not able to produce results which offer their people hope, they are almost surely going to turn to other more radical solutions, and the Communists are almost certain to be able to exploit this frustration.

A second characteristic of these peoples derives from their colonial experience. Their nationalism is intense and often takes an anti-Western bias; their thinking is colored by the memories of past domination, by a sense of inequality, which the West means for many of them. The bias against the West is a serious obstacle to the kind of work with these people that is in our mutual interest. The Communists exploit these feelings with great skill and pose as the supporters of the independence of these countries as against fancied Western efforts at domination.

In addition, this nationalism produces conflicts or quarrels with neighbors, as in the Kashmir dispute, the dispute between Afghanistan and Pak-

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istan, the Israeli issue, and so on. These local disputes are a constant threat of outbreak of violence which could embroil other parts of the world by taking sides. Thus these areas are inherently a serious source of instability, both in the political sense and also as possible sources of military conflict.

Relative Decline of Europe and Japan

The fourth factor which seems to me central is the relative decline of former centers of power in Europe and Japan since World War II.

In neither case is there really an economic decline, because both areas are enjoying a scale of economic activity which they never before reached. Nor is there essentially a loss of political stability, because in general the moderate groups are in control in these areas. The shift in their relative position reflects the growth of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., the development of atomic weapons, the loss of colonies, and the like. As a result, these formerly strong areas are no longer able to carry on the role in the world which they were once accustomed to. The process of adjusting to this change is not an easy one. It tends to create frictions and to strain the ties among us.

These then are four basic factors that seem likely to shape the world we will face for some years: a strong and hostile Soviet Union; a growing arsenal of weapons of unprecedented destructive power; the drive for political and economic progress in the less developed areas; and relative weakness in the former power centers of Western Europe and Japan. The analysis so far leaves out of account one factor which may be decisive: our own actions. Let me now turn to them.

Free World Tasks

In the light of these forces or trends, what should be the main goals or tasks for the free world over the decade ahead? I would suggest five:

Safeguarding Peace

The first task must be to stabilize peace so as to prevent both deliberate and unintended war. This has two aspects.

To deter deliberate aggression our best hope at present is to have the means to punish it effectively. The aggressor must be convinced that his crime will not pay. For this purpose it is not enough to be able to retaliate with all-out power.

The free world must also be able to apply limited force in more selective and flexible ways. Otherwise we should run the risk of not being able to respond to specific limited acts of aggression.

The other danger is that the world could blunder into a major war without meaning to. In areas like the Middle East, parts of the Far East, and the satellites, which are unstable or inflamed, great power interests are involved or could easily become involved. The outbreak of conflict in these areas could lead by steps and countersteps to the kind of all-out war which would not serve the interests of anybody.

We need to use all the skills and machinery we have to keep such situations from breaking out into violence. For this purpose the U.N. can be very useful.

It would be a mistake to overestimate its capabilities, but it would also be a mistake not to use it fully in the ways in which it can be effective. And it seems to me essential to foster in all the ways we can the concept of the rule of law and the outlawing of resort to force in the settlement of disputes. Much can also be done by other organizations such as Nato and the Organization of American States. And not least is the need for old-fashioned diplomacy in resolving existing conflicts and disputes peacefully.

Control of Armaments

Let me turn now to the second task which is closely related to the first. We must try to bring armaments, especially nuclear armaments, under some degree of control.

In saying this I am not suggesting that armaments can be eliminated entirely in this period. The practical and political obstacles make any system of total disarmament out of the question. But the issue is a false one if it is posed as a choice between doing nothing and attempting to disarm totally. We need a much more flexible approach to the problem. Small steps may have great value in reducing the likelihood of nuclear war. For example, any degree of inspection might materially increase the deterrent by making it more difficult to launch a surprise attack. In the absence of ability to achieve surprise any temptation to initiate all-out nuclear war would be substantially reduced. Similarly, it would be useful to put limits on the spread of nuclear weapons throughout the world. In many hands they could hardly fail to create new tensions and

dangers. Finally, we should try to divert future output of nuclear material into peaceful uses and at least start to transfer some of the existing stockpiles to such purposes.

Such modest measures would fall far short of disarming entirely. But they would serve to limit and control armaments and perhaps gradually to reduce the burden of safeguarding the peace. And that could lay the basis for further steps.

Economic Development

The third task for the free world is to assist economic growth in the less developed areas. We have a deep interest in the continued independence of these countries under moderate governments. If they cannot achieve social and economic progress under these auspices, the prospects look grim indeed. Their failure could radically change the present uneasy political balance in the world.

As I have said, there is no easy road to growth in the less developed countries. They start with severe handicaps in terms of skills, experience, illiteracy, and capital. Economic progress will require a social revolution over a very short period. The disruption of old traditions and institutions will create unstable conditions and offer great opportunities for Communist exploitation.

If these people are to achieve economic growth, it will have to be done mainly by their own efforts. No outsider can possibly organize and bring about the basic changes which will be required. But even if they make the best use of their own resources, the margin between success and failure will be a narrow one. Capital and training from outside can do much to widen that margin. And such help will be required for some years to come.

Our interests and our ideals dictate that we should devote substantial resources to training and technical assistance and to providing economic help for development purposes. In extending it our methods should be designed to foster self-help and efficient use of resources. The Secretary of State has recently submitted to the Congress certain proposals on our mutual security program. Those relating to economic development are designed to clarify our purposes and to create machinery better adapted to the task. If adopted, these proposals should improve the program and enhance its value.²

Western Europe and Japan

Our fourth objective must be to assist Western

Europe and Japan to play a role in the world in keeping with their potentialities.

Under modern conditions, Western Europe is weakened by its fragmentation. In recent years the European states have attacked this weakness in various ways. In the Council of Europe, the OEEC, the European Payments Union, they have worked together on common problems. Six of these nations have gone even further. In the Coal and Steel Community and now in EURATOM and the Common Market, they are seeking to create an integrated European community with common institutions. We must do all we can to foster this integration and the drawing together of the European countries in their effort to create a more effective unit in the free world.

In the Far East prospects for peaceful progress depend greatly upon Japan. The prosperity of Japan rests heavily on access to raw materials and to markets and trade outlets overseas. A prosperous and free Japan can contribute much to the vitality of the free world. But if these benefits are to be achieved, ways must be found to allow Japan to sell its products within the free world.

Communist Evolution

As a final objective we must do what we can to foster the evolution of the Communist states toward a more liberal pattern. Let us not overestimate what we can do for this purpose. Our first aim must be to try to create a set of conditions to which the Soviet Union will have to adjust and adapt its own conduct. That, of course, is a fundamental purpose of the actions I have already outlined. They are designed to forestall Communist resort to military force and the spread of communism by nonmilitary means. In this way time will have a chance to work its changes on Soviet society.

Meanwhile, there are some other things we can do which may have a modest effect in speeding that evolution. For instance, exchanges of information and of people open up the Communist world to ideas and influences from abroad and tend to strengthen the forces for change within.

Again, we can at all times make it clear that

² For a statement made by Secretary Dulles on Apr. 8 before the Senate Special Committee To Study the Foreign Aid Program, see BULLETIN of Apr. 29, 1957, p. 675.

the free world does not threaten Soviet national interests if these are defined in ways which do not call for domination of other states. In other words, the Soviet Union should be made aware that it could have a secure national life in a world of independent states if it is prepared to forgo expansionist goals.

With respect to the satellites our aim should not be violent revolution but the steady growth of greater independence of the Soviet Union. And again we can assure the Soviets that, if they accommodate to the pressures for freedom in the satellites, the free world will not seek to create hostile neighbors along its borders.

These then are five major tasks to which I think the free world must devote itself in the coming years. In a brief speech it is not feasible to fill in details. I can only hope that enough has been said to indicate why each of them seems necessary in coping with the conditions that lie ahead.

Conclusion

In concluding, I would like to stress two final points about these tasks.

The first is this. Each of them will require cooperative action among the free nations. None of them can be achieved in isolation by any single nation—even our own. Our military power, our economic power, our diplomacy, and our ideas can do much to influence the direction in which the world develops. But, to be effective, our efforts will have to be combined with those of other free nations. Each will have to contribute its due share and play its proper role.

My final point is that the tasks I have outlined pose special problems for democratic nations. These goals are not to be realized within a year or even within a decade. They call for steady, patient effort over an extended period of time. They will demand heavy burdens and sacrifice. The challenge is not a dramatic one. And the necessary actions will not produce clear results at a specific time. There will be a constant temptation to let down and to cut back. Yet these tasks are essential for the survival of freedom.

It is an article of faith with all of us that in the long run the triumph of freedom is inevitable, that the future is on our side. In a very real sense this is true. Hungary and Poland are the most recent testimony that the values and institu-

tions of freedom respond to the deepest yearnings of mankind. But in this situation we should also recall a wise saying of Mr. Justice Holmes: "The inevitable comes to pass by human effort." We can be sure that freedom will prevail if free men put forth that necessary degree of effort.

NATO Ministerial Council Meets at Bonn

Following is a statement made by Secretary Dulles upon his return to Washington on May 7 following a 2-day meeting of the Ministerial Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization at Bonn, Germany, on May 2 and 3, together with the text of the final communique issued by the Council at Bonn on May 3.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY DULLES

Press release 276 dated May 7

I return from a meeting of the 15 ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty countries.¹ It was in many respects the best NATO meeting that I have ever attended. There was an informality and a scope of discussion which stemmed from a fresh sense of common purpose.

We agreed that NATO must be in a position to use all available means to meet any attack which might be launched against it. We will not be deflected by Soviet objections. We did not admit that a nation which has itself been guilty of aggressive expansion, and which only recently attacked Hungary, could properly dictate the defensive policies of the free. Our defensive policies do not, of course, preclude limitations of armament which are mutual and balanced and where promises will be verified by adequate inspection and control.

Following the meeting at Bonn of the NATO Council I met at Paris with the heads of 13 United States diplomatic missions in Europe. Such regional meetings greatly assist the implementing of our foreign policies.

My visits to Bonn and Paris also enabled me

¹ For a departure statement by Secretary Dulles and an announcement of the U.S. delegation, see BULLETIN of May 20, 1957, p. 804.

to have useful talks with Chancellor Adenauer of Germany and with Premier Mollet of France.

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE

Press release 275 dated May 7

The North Atlantic Council, presided over by Mr. Gaetano Martino, Foreign Minister of Italy, held its regular ministerial meeting in Bonn on May 2 and 3, 1957. The Secretary General, Lord Ismay, acted as Chairman of the Council's discussions.

The Atlantic Alliance has always been and remains purely defensive. It was created to protect its member countries from any aggression. It has succeeded. But the danger of aggression clearly continues, and the countries of the Atlantic Alliance must therefore remain united to provide for their defense.

The Council noted that since its last meeting the Soviet leaders have launched a campaign which, while throwing the cloak of oblivion over Soviet repression in Hungary, is designed to induce public opinion in various member countries to oppose the modernization of defense forces, and to weaken the principle of collective security in NATO.

The Council agreed that one of the objects of this campaign was to ensure for Soviet forces a monopoly of nuclear weapons on the European Continent. Such a situation clearly could not be accepted. It was with satisfaction that the Council noted the firm replies given to these Soviet maneuvers.

The Atlantic Alliance must be in a position to use all available means to meet any attack which might be launched against it. It is the availability of the most modern weapons of defense which will discourage attempts to launch any such attack on the Alliance. Pending an acceptable agreement on disarmament, no power can claim the right to deny to the Alliance the possession of the modern arms needed for its defense. If, however, the fears professed by the Soviet Union are sincere, they could be readily dissipated. All that is needed is for the Soviet Union to accept a general disarmament agreement embodying effective measures of control and inspection within the framework of the proposals made on numerous occasions by the Western Powers, which remain an essential basis of their policy.

During their discussions on the problem of security, the question was raised of the balance as between the latest weapons and conventional arms. The Council is awaiting the results of the studies now in hand by the NATO military authorities to enable member countries

to decide together on the steps necessary for the development and balance of the different types of forces needed. The Council remains convinced that these decisions taken in common should take into account the need for NATO to retain an effective deterrent against aggression, including a powerful shield of land, sea and air forces, to protect the territory of member states.

Recent events in Hungary have confirmed that freedom counts for nothing in Soviet eyes, and that the U.S.S.R. is prepared to use force to crush the legitimate aspirations of nations. The Council agreed that the continued brutal repression of the struggle for freedom of the heroic Hungarian people remains, and continues to make difficult an improvement in East-West relations.

The Council discussed the effect of political developments in recent months on the question of German reunification. They decided to continue their efforts with every means at their disposal to induce the Soviet Government to carry out its agreement that Germany should be reunified by means of free elections. The Ministers view the prolonged division of Germany and the anomalous situation of Berlin as a continuing threat to world peace. They accordingly reaffirmed their determination by peaceful means to continue and intensify the common policy for the restoration of Germany as a free and united state within the framework of a system of European security. They directed particular attention to the inhumanity of the continued division of the German people.

The Council reviewed recent developments in the Middle East. They concluded that while the dangers to peace in the region remain great, certain new elements give promise of limiting the opportunities for communist expansion and subversion. The Council emphasized the importance of current initiatives to improve the situation and to reinforce the efforts already made to ensure the security and integrity of countries in the Middle East.

The Ministers considered the state of the Alliance in the light of political developments, both within and without the NATO area, which have taken place since they last met five months ago. In this connection they reviewed the progress achieved in political consultation under the new procedures inaugurated as a result of the recommendations of the Committee of Three approved last December.² They concluded that useful and concrete results had been achieved, and that the Alliance was acquiring both greater maturity and solidarity.

The Council noted the report submitted by Lord Ismay, and conveyed to him their thanks and gratitude for the supreme services which he has rendered to the cause of the Alliance in the past five years.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1957, p. 18.

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Ambassador Richards' Mission to the Middle East

Following are a radio and television address made by Ambassador James P. Richards on May 9 at the conclusion of his mission to the Middle East and a statement he made at the airport upon his return to Washington on May 8, together with the texts of joint communique issued after his visits to Greece, Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco.¹

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR RICHARDS

Press release 281 dated May 9

Yesterday afternoon I returned to Washington from a trip of almost 30,000 miles. In the past 2 months my small staff and I have traveled by plane, train, and a variety of vehicles throughout the general area of the Middle East—from Pakistan on the east to Morocco on the west—from Greece on the north to Ethiopia on the south. President Eisenhower wanted me to explain the spirit and purposes of the American Doctrine to any government in the area which wanted such an explanation. This morning I had the pleasure of telling the President about my trip, and now I want to tell you about it.

What is the American Doctrine?

On January 5 the President stated to the Congress that the threat of international communism to the general area of the Middle East was such that the American people were obliged to undertake special new responsibilities there.² On March 9th the Congress adopted a joint resolution endorsing this doctrine.³

¹ For an announcement of an interim report on Ambassador Richards' mission, together with texts of communique from Lebanon, Libya, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia and press statements on the Baghdad Pact, see BULLETIN of May 6, 1957, p. 724. For a statement from Yemen and communique from Ethiopia and the Sudan, see *ibid.*, May 13, 1957, p. 763. Mr. Richards also visited Israel on May 2 and 3.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1957, p. 83.

³ *Ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1957, p. 480.

The most important provisions of the doctrine are: that the President may use United States armed forces to assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle East requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism; and that the United States may furnish economic and military assistance at the request of nations in the area to help them build up their own strength against international communism.

The doctrine offers the cooperation of the United States in resisting overt Communist attack and assistance in building up the ability of nations of the area to protect their territorial integrity and national independence. It is not a purpose of the doctrine to seek alliances, bases, or any special sphere of influence within the region. Moreover, respecting as it does its own sovereignty, the United States could hold no thought of impinging on the sovereignty of others. The American Doctrine stands as a symbol of the stake the American and Middle Eastern peoples have in each other.

The President assigned me the task of visiting the Middle East countries to explain this American Doctrine. He conferred upon me the authority to agree in principle on the spot to United States economic and military assistance to implement it. So I visited all countries in the area, 15 of them, which showed a genuine desire to discuss the American Doctrine. I omitted three countries. In one case no firm invitation was received; in another the attitude of the government showed clearly that there was no real desire for frank and sincere discussions; in the third, current developments made it appear preferable to extend United States economic assistance through other means.

The American Doctrine, of course, is only one aspect of our policy toward the area. It is not intended to solve pressing intra-area disagreements. This does not mean that we are neglecting them. On the contrary, we are working inten-

sively on these problems through other means and believe the containment of international communism will assist in their solution. Therefore, while I listened to the views of the governments visited on such intra-area problems and reported them to the President, my mission did not concern itself specifically with their solution.

How the Mission Worked

Now, let me tell you how we worked on this trip. We were forced to meet a very tight schedule and could spend only a little over 2 full days in an individual country. It was our practice to confer immediately after arrival with the American Ambassador and his country team, including representatives from the Departments of State and Defense, the International Cooperation Administration, and the United States Information Service. I would like to pay a tribute to these and other American officials, who are working devotedly for the interest of their country often in extremely difficult circumstances.

This family discussion was quickly followed by intensive conferences with the top officials of the host government. At this meeting, I gave a full explanation of the President's program, answered questions, and tried to remove any doubts. I was always careful to explain the burden of defensive armaments the United States is already carrying for the purpose of maintaining free-world security. I pointed out that economic and military assistance under the doctrine must come from funds already appropriated by the Congress. The limited amounts available could by no means meet all the needs of the area countries but had to be channeled to the most urgent requirements. Naturally there was some disappointment at the amounts we could authorize for an individual country, but I believe at the same time there was increased recognition and appreciation of the efforts the American people are making.

Afterward members of my staff would study with appropriate local officials various problems upon which the United States could render help. These technical meetings were followed by a further plenary conference at which our business was concluded. We met a variety of local circumstances. For example, in Turkey our conference with the Prime Minister resembled that of a board meeting of a large United States corporation. In

Saudi Arabia we were received in audience by His Majesty in his new palace in the rapidly growing city of Riyadh. Afterward we were able to meet young Prince Mashhur, who visited this country with his father. In Iraq, the dynamic Prime Minister took personal charge of the negotiations.

Perhaps the dominant impression I received from the trip was that of peoples with vast aspirations, determined to make their dreams come true. In the newly independent countries they have just tasted the thrill of governing themselves, and all are awake to the possibility of improving their lots. Now the Communists claim they have the quick easy answers. They make big promises of economic aid. They provide arms to promote trouble. They do not hesitate to take sides in intra-area problems, because perpetuation of these problems furthers their aims. They pose as super nationalists and at times succeed in deceiving well-intentioned persons. Khrushchev and Bulganin visited some parts of the area. They spoke deceptively of peace and promised the moon.

Confidence in U. S. Intentions

One of my tasks was to convince the people of the Middle East of our own sincerity. I sought to determine whether the leaders of the countries we visited had confidence that we were really trying to help them and were not motivated by selfish purposes. You would have been very proud, as I was, at the responses I received. There is an openness of heart toward the United States. President Eisenhower is held in the highest regard as a man of peace sincerely interested in aiding others. The position the United States Government took last fall at the time of the attack on Egypt has been a most convincing demonstration that the American people stand against any aggression and for the principles of the United Nations Charter. This respect for United States leadership and confidence in our intentions is perhaps the greatest asset we have.

I found real recognition of the significance of the United States decision to pledge United States forces against international communism. The military men in particular appreciated this assurance, and you could tell that it gave them a new feeling of security and determination to do better themselves.

As I said earlier, under the authority given by

the President I was able to make decisions in principle on the spot to provide military and economic assistance. We gave some military assistance—guns, tanks, and things like that—where there appeared to be a special need. In several countries of the Middle East we have had military assistance programs in progress for a number of years. These are administered through United States military assistance advisory groups as a part of our regular mutual security activities. In general I found no need for an immediate increase in the level of this aid in countries already receiving it. I was particularly interested in the ability of local armed forces to maintain internal security and to resist potential external aggression by international communism. Some soft spots appeared, and my mission authorized additional military equipment to fill in. We did not, however, attempt to consider the entire military aspirations of each country. The total of these would have been too vast to be satisfied from the limited funds available. We concentrated instead on those things which would give an immediate increase in area ability to resist either overt or covert aggression by international communism.

We also gave some economic help—partly grant and partly loan. We were particularly interested in projects which would encourage regional cooperation enabling the countries to help each other. For example, we agreed to aid the Baghdad Pact organization in the fields of telecommunications and highways. We gave some help in the field of transportation, to promote improved regional trade facilities and to link outlying areas with their capital city so as to bring people into closer touch with their government. In some countries, only foreign radio programs—and thus foreign propaganda—were reaching into rural and urban homes. So we provided means of developing their own broadcasting facilities.

This aid—economic and military—was not of great magnitude in terms of the total requirements but, as one Prime Minister said, does demonstrate our desire to cooperate with area countries in building up their own strength.

I came to realize more than ever the mutuality of our interests with those of likeminded people of the Middle East. The problem of building a better world is a two-way street, and we must depend on good will of others as they must depend upon us.

I am glad to be able to report to you that all of the 15 countries we visited asserted determination to maintain their national independence against any threat. Most recognize the danger of international communism, although some are more conscious of this menace than others. Most welcomed the American Doctrine publicly. None rejected it. We were careful not to press any nation to take a public stand against its own judgment.

Only the future will tell what lasting contribution the mission I headed has made in the world's conflict of ideologies. But it was evident to me that the peoples and governments of the Middle East area have trust in the intentions of the United States, are determined to protect themselves from international communism, and have generally welcomed the American Doctrine. In enunciating this doctrine we have assumed a heavy moral responsibility. We have charted a bold course, one that in the world of today involves continuing hazards. But it is a course which our responsibilities will not permit us to abandon. It is my hope and my belief that the Middle East nations will sail this course with us.

ARRIVAL STATEMENT

Press release 278 dated May 8

I am glad to be back home after almost 2 months of virtually continuous travel covering approximately 25,000 miles and 15 countries. We visited 15 countries of the nations in the area to which the American Doctrine relates. Due to the President's request for me to return for consultations I was unable to complete arrangements for visits to Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. We shall continue our contacts through normal diplomatic channels with those states in the area which evince a firm desire to consult regarding our Middle East proposal.

The purpose of our mission was simple: to explain the purposes of the Middle East resolution and to consult and agree on ways in which the United States and the individual states of the area might cooperate under the terms of the resolution. None of the 15 nations which we visited rejected proposals of American aid within the framework of the doctrine. Some of the states desire to consult further on the specific terms of

our cooperation. In a great majority of the countries we were able to establish an identity of interests and to work out specific agreements for mutual cooperation.

We have learned much in the past 2 months of the needs, the desires, and the hopes of these states, and I am deeply impressed by the possibilities of fruitful collaboration in establishing conditions leading toward stability, security, and economic progress in the area—all necessary prerequisites to our common goal, peace.

My first duty is to report to the President and to the Secretary of State on my findings and the results of my trip and through them to the Congress which authorized the proposal. I might add that I wouldn't say that this was an easy trip but it was made easier for us by the deep respect for the President of the United States and the proposals he has made for the security of the Middle East through this doctrine.

I want to also say that I was even surprised at the confidence of the governments and the people of that area as to the high moral purposes of the United States in what they are trying to do. They give both the President and the Secretary of State much credit for what we might call tendencies toward permanent peace in that area.

TEXTS OF COMMUNIQUES

Greece Joint Communique

ATHENS, GREECE
May 2, 1957

Press release 264 dated May 4

During his visit to Athens April 28 to May 2, 1957, Ambassador James P. Richards, Special Representative of the President of the United States, discussed with Prime Minister Karamanlis and other members of the Greek Government President Eisenhower's proposals for the Middle East as approved by the United States Congress.

During these discussions the following conclusions were reached:

1. Recognizing that international relations must be governed by a mutual respect for the independence and sovereign equality of countries, both parties reiterate their faith in the principles and aims of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. In order to defend the independence and freedom of all peoples, both parties recognize the necessity of facing in common the perils, from whatever source, which threaten these blessings.

They agree that International Communism is a very great danger for freedom and independence and that to face it continuous vigilance as well as cooperation and solidarity of all free peoples is necessary.

3. To ensure the independence of economically weaker and technically less developed countries it is necessary to provide them with means of gradually developing their economy, of increasing their national income and of raising their standard of living.

4. More particularly, both parties recognize that this cooperation and solidarity should be manifested in favor of countries of the Middle East and to those which facing similar economic problems are, geographically, historically and economically in immediate and continuous relations with them. For this reason, they consider that Greece also is included in countries covered by the Eisenhower Proposal.

5. Greece, with long-standing ties of undisturbed friendship for the Arab world, is especially desirous to see the Arab countries preserve their full independence and promote their economic prosperity.

6. Greece has 10 years' experience of American aid and cooperation which, without any limitation of her national independence or her external policy, protected her freedom and healed her wounds from war and Communist aggression and, therefore, believes that under the same conditions of preservation of national independence of the above-mentioned countries, similar results could be achieved.

7. For the achievement of all the above aims, both countries will make use of all appropriate peaceful means, and especially of those offered by the United Nations, in order to solve matters arising in the area of the Middle East.

8. It is understood that various programs of aid already agreed upon or in progress in the area covered by President Eisenhower's proposals are neither affected nor suspended. Any aid supplied in application of these proposals will be furnished over and above all aid otherwise made available.

9. Finally it was agreed that both Governments should continue through appropriate channels

the study of ways and means by which the above aims can be achieved for the peace and prosperity of so many millions of people.

Libya Joint Communique

TRIPOLI, LIBYA
May 4, 1957

Press release 267 dated May 6

At the request of the Government of Libya, Ambassador James P. Richards, Special Assistant to the President, stopped at Tripoli on May 4, 1957 en route to the United States and held further discussions on certain aspects of the Middle East proposals of the President of the United States. During his previous visit to Libya from March 17-March 20, it was announced that Libya and the United States would work together for the successful application of the proposals, in recognition of the fact that the aggressive intentions of international communism offer the greatest present threat to national independence and the peace and security of the world community.

In accordance with the statement made on March 20⁴ that the United States would provide additional economic assistance to Libya, the Government of Libya and Ambassador Richards have now completed studies of economic activities which would contribute to Libya's needs. The Ambassador has agreed in principle that the United States Government will immediately undertake the necessary procedural and legal steps to initiate projects in the following fields, among others:

1. A general survey of Libyan development needs.
2. The development of broadcasting.
3. Assistance in education, including scholarships and instructional material.
4. Further aid toward electrical power development.
5. Improvement of telecommunications.
6. Development of domestic water supplies.

Tunisia Joint Communique

TUNIS, TUNISIA
May 6, 1957

Press release 272 dated May 7

At the invitation of the Government of Tunisia Ambassador James P. Richards, Special Assistant

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 6, 1957, p. 726.

to President Eisenhower, arrived in Tunis Saturday, May 4. He had cordial talks with Prime Minister Bourguiba and members of his Cabinet on May 4 and 5.

The Prime Minister reiterated his previous endorsement of President Eisenhower's proposals for the Middle East and was pleased to have the opportunity for discussions with Ambassador Richards regarding these proposals and the need to meet the menace of international communism.

Morocco Joint Communique

RABAT, MOROCCO
May 8, 1957

Press release 280 dated May 9

Ambassador Richards, Special Assistant to President Eisenhower, paid a visit to Morocco on May 6-7. He was received in audience by His Majesty the Sultan for almost an hour and had several meetings at the Foreign Ministry with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and other members of the Government.

Ambassador Richards, who was welcomed with great regard, presented a detailed exposition of the plan put forward by President Eisenhower for the Middle East as well as the objectives of the United States Government in that area.

This exposition was given the greatest attention in a spirit of mutual understanding, in view of the interest of Morocco in the strengthening of peace in the Middle East. The position of Morocco remains therefore as it was at the time of the visit of Vice President Nixon.

Suez Canal Users Reserve Rights Under Convention of 1888

Following is the text of a communique issued at London on May 9 following a meeting of the Council of the Suez Canal Users Association.¹

The Council of the Suez Canal Users Association met this afternoon to continue its discussions. It was the general consensus of the member countries that the Egyptian Declaration² is insufficient and falls short of the six requirements for a settlement of the Suez Canal question, which were em-

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Oct. 1, 1956, p. 503.

² For text, see *ibid.*, May 13, 1957, p. 776.

bodied in the Resolution of the Security Council of October 13, 1956.³ Insofar as use of the Canal is resumed by the shipping of member states, this does not imply their acceptance of the Egyptian Declaration as a settlement of the Suez Canal question. Accordingly, member states reserve existing legal rights under the Convention of 1888 and otherwise with respect to the operation of the Suez Canal.

The delegate of France expressed a reservation to the effect that in the opinion of his government it was not possible in present circumstances to recommend the use of the Canal to member states.

The delegate of Spain expressed a reservation to the effect that it is solely within the competence of the United Nations to decide whether or not the Egyptian Declaration is consistent with the Resolution of the Security Council of October 13, 1956.

Air Agreement With Syria Amended

Press release 266 dated May 6

The Department of State announced on May 6 the conclusion of an exchange of notes on May 5, 1957, between the American Embassy at Damascus and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Syria, amending the annex of the United States-Syria air transport agreement, which was signed on April 28, 1947, to enable designated U.S. and Syrian airlines to provide nonstop service on the routes specified for each country.

The amendment, which becomes effective immediately, provides for a new section 3 of the annex to read as follows:

Section 3—Intermediate points on any of the specified routes may at the option of the designated airlines be omitted on any or all flights.

Pan American World Airways is the carrier designated by the U.S. Government to operate to and through Syria on the following route specified in the 1947 agreement: The United States, through Europe and Turkey to Syria and beyond to India; via intermediate points in both directions. The agreement provides that a route to the United States to be operated by Syrian airlines may be determined at a later date.

³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1956, p. 616.

Foreign Policy and Foreign Aid

Remarks by President Eisenhower¹

When you ask for comments on foreign policy and the operation of foreign policy, you in effect ask for a sort of marathon performance that can go on here for much longer than the time you have to spare, I am sure.

First of all, I would earnestly want to commend you for your interest in this problem. The foreign problem overshadows everything else that we have as an argument at home or what we would call one of our domestic problems. It either causes that problem or certainly colors it. Our defensive arrangements, in all of their different aspects, account for about 63 percent of our budget. So all of the economies that we would like to accomplish in our tax take and in our expenditures finally come back—if we are going to make them in very large amount—to affect this foreign policy problem that we have.

Now there are a few things that I think we should understand. A foreign policy is not difficult to state. We are for peace, first, last, and always, for very simple reasons. We know that it is only in a peaceful atmosphere—a peace with justice, one in which we can be confident—that America can prosper as we have known prosperity in the past. It is the only way that our people can, in the long run, be freed of great burdens and devote their substance to the constructive purposes that we have—in schools and hospitals and helping the development of our people in every way.

We seek that peace from a position of strength. As long as there is abroad in the world a predatory force, seeking to destroy our form of government, we are going to remain strong. It is only prudence, and as a matter of fact it is the only way to be successful. Because when you are talking to people that respect only force, you must have the ability to use force. But we recognize those constructive arrangements as negative and sterile themselves. And again, we want to get rid of that burden.

¹ Made before the National Council of the League of Women Voters of the United States in the rose garden at the White House on May 1 (White House press release).

Now, as we pursue peace, we have organized—there was organized some years ago—the United Nations. The United Nations is not always effective, of course, in any particular instance, because of circumstances. But it does represent, as we see it, the greatest hope that the world has for establishing finally a forum in which differing viewpoints will be brought and argued and where arrangements may be made that will be necessary, if we finally come to the point that all of us realize we must live peacefully. It can help, therefore, in bringing about peace and much more so in maintaining peace with justice, after we have some kind of workable arrangement that will allow us to reduce armaments.

When a specific problem comes up—for example, the Suez argument of last fall—no one would claim that the United Nations is necessarily the most effective instrument for deciding the particular dispute. But if any nation such as ours, powerful as it is, ignores the United Nations in trying to solve these disputes, what is going to happen to this greatest hope of all mankind for peace?

You must respect it. You must work through it so far as it is possible. But the charter itself of the United Nations does not preclude the attempt to establish, prevent, or restore peace through individual methods. As a matter of fact, the charter says in case of dispute the first efforts should be made between the contending countries themselves. You can do it also by regional and other organized efforts that do not involve the United Nations—but if the United Nations is ignored, I think we do it at our future peril.

The Spirit of Nationalism

Another point that I think is important for all of us to remember: The strongest force abroad in the world today, particularly among those peoples that we call the more underdeveloped peoples, is the spirit of nationalism. This spirit is stronger than communism in these areas, and fortunately it is stronger than the spirit of any communism in all of them—in some of them, I mean. What I mean by that is this: This desire to be free, to say I am a citizen of this country or that country, to say we are independent—this is a spirit that has been growing with tremendous leaps and bounds ever since the famous pronouncement of President Wilson of the right of self-determina-

tion of small peoples. Today it is a terrific force in the world.

Now this means this: They are going to remain independent, or they believe they are going to remain independent, by whatever means they have to use. One of the things necessary to remain independent politically is to have an economic base on which that independence can be supported. Their determination to remain independent is so strong that they will get that economic help, that economic investment money, from somebody. And if we don't supply it or do our share of supplying it from the free world basis, the free world standpoint, others will.

We know that they will not long remain independent if they go somewhere else. But *they* don't.

It is astonishing how frequently we are compared, in the minds of a citizen of one of these countries that we call underdeveloped, to Russia in terms of—well, which is the strongest, which is correct, which is trying to take us over, which is trying to be truculent, which is trying to start the war.

We know we are peaceful. We know we are a country that is ruled by ourselves. Government only with the consent of the governed does not start wars, because it is the people that have to fight them that make the decision.

This is not true in dictatorships, but the people of other countries don't understand this. I have been asked by people very high up in some of these governments, why do I not do so and so—why do I not suppress a certain magazine—why do I not do this, that, or the other thing? My explanations—although I think very convincing—are often, to them, seemingly nothing.

A man said to me, "If you were our friend, you would do so and so." They don't understand. Therefore, they do not understand that our form of government is essentially one that is stable in preserving peace and that it is dictatorships that can undertake the reckless adventure of war.

All of these problems are the kind of things that have to be considered when we are talking about the conflicting considerations of the safety of our country and our desire to keep more of our own money at home so we can spend it for what we please and not give it to the Government to spend. And with this last desire, I must say I am earn-

estly in sympathy and I would very much like to go out of this office some day with another even bigger tax cut than we were able to put over in 1954.

Foreign Aid Program

The other day I was riding in an airplane, and I had some friends with me. And they began to criticize our efforts in the foreign field and say they thought we could save a lot of money there. Let us remember, foreign aid doesn't have any pressure group in any Congressman's district. It is something that has to depend on the intelligence of the American people and not on selfish interest.

And they said, "You say you are trying to be economical and you are trying to save money, yet you will spend this money over here, when you won't even give a Texas drought-stricken man so much corn meal and this and that and the other thing."

"Well," I said, "this is what I am going to try to explain in simple terms. We are riding in this airplane, and let's assume we own it. We have been looking at the operational costs, and we decide we are spending too much money on it. Now we are going to save some money.

"Well, we find we have two stewards on this plane. We figure that one can do. All right, one steward fired.

"Well, we agree we won't fly it over such long trips, we don't need so much fuel capacity, and we can save money and carry a better payload by getting rid of a tank. We won't fly it in bad weather, so we will get rid of an expert navigator and make the copilot double up. And we will cut down on the furniture. We will get rid of the carpets, and so on here.

"These are all the services that we have demanded up to date, but, now that we find out how much it costs, we are ready to do without these services, but we are still dissatisfied with what we have saved."

So one bright fellow speaks up and says: "Well, let's just cut out one of the engines—we won't use so much gas." Now you are talking about foreign aid. Foreign aid is one of the engines that keeps this ship of ours afloat in the world and going on a steady course. So the rest of the passengers say: "Well, baloney—you take away that engine, then we lose one when we are out over the sea, and we have probably lost our reserves

and we are down. We are now in an emergency without the preparation to meet it."

Foreign aid, my friends, is something that is being conducted to keep the United States secure and strong. It is preventing the isolation of the United States as a prosperous, rich, powerful country. There would be isolation if the United States refused to participate in the realization by underdeveloped countries of their proper ambitions for nationalization, for national independence, and for the economic base that will support that individual independence. That's all there is to it.

In my opinion, you can't take freedom and allow freedom finally to be pushed back to the shores of the United States and maintain it in the United States. It can't be done. There's too much interdependence in the world.

Now I do not for one instant—this is getting to be a long speech, too, isn't it?—I do not for one instant maintain that every dollar put into this is wisely spent. I know there have been articles published showing where in Iran or somewhere else there were stores of supplies bought for a people and they found out later that they bought supplies for people that didn't even yet know how to use a hoe, or something like that. Of course there have been mistakes. There have been human people doing this. And sometimes they are trying to do it in a great hurry, or they were obsessed with the idea that money could buy friends and money could keep friends. Well, that is all untrue.

We can, though, with our attitude and with some investment, help these people. It is dangerous to make too close an analogy between our own experience and that of some of these countries. You must remember, when we were developing and money was being invested in our country from abroad, on a loan basis properly, we had great natural resources. Those loans practically constituted a mortgage on all those great resources. We were very low in population. We have been growing up to our resources in population ever since. We have done it under conditions that have produced the greatest prosperity any nation has known.

These other countries are already far over and beyond their capacity, in some instances, of population—without a cent. How do you collect capital in those countries to do the job that needs to

be done, to produce roads, railroads, communications—the things that allow people to pull themselves up by their bootstraps? That is what we are trying to get people to do because we believe in peace.

We believe in peace. And we believe that the more these people rule themselves, the more that the decision for world action lies in the hands of the people who have to fight wars, then there will be fewer wars. That's what we believe.

Now I come back to my first thought, and that is how delighted I am to see you people interested in these things. Unless the United States understands these simple truths which I have just so roughly touched upon this morning—unless our people understand them and are ready to push them through—then the future doesn't look nearly so bright as it should.

If the United States does understand them, then the sacrifice of money is not going to sound in their ears like the sacrifice of our sons on the battlefield. That is what we are trying to prevent.

So let's make all the savings we can in the carpets and the chairs and the extra personnel and all the rest of the things that we have been demanding, wherever we think it is safe and just and fair among ourselves to do it. But let's not throw away the engines of this ship of state.

United States Replies to Hungary on Postal Cancellation Stamp

Press release 254 dated April 29

On March 8, 1957, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, in a note handed to an officer of the American Legation in Budapest, protested against the use of a postal cancellation stamp reading "Support Your Crusade for Freedom" on United States mail reaching Hungary. The stamp, it was alleged in the Hungarian note, was "obviously intended to incite the counterrevolutionary elements defeated last November to further subversive activity." The use of the stamp, the note continued, violated article 1, section 2, of the Universal Postal Union Convention.

Subsequent to the receipt of the Hungarian protest, it was learned that the Hungarian authorities were returning to the senders all mail bearing the cancellation stamps in question.

On April 29 the American Legation in Budapest delivered a reply to the Hungarian note of protest. A copy of the operative portions of this reply follows, together with a copy of the Hungarian note of March 8, 1957.

U.S. Note of April 29

The Legation of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic and has the honor to refer to the Ministry's Note No. 3/35-58/1957, in which the Ministry raised objections to the use by the United States postal authorities of the postal cancellation stamp "Support Your Crusade for Freedom" on private letters entering Hungary from the United States.

Under United States law the Postmaster General may grant permission for the use of special cancellation stamps or postmarking dies for advertising purposes where the event to be advertised is of general public interest and importance, is to endure for a definite period of time, and is not to be conducted for private gain or profit. Under this authority in recent years, cancellation stamp slogans have been used in connection with programs variously relating to the promotion of health, safety, and peace. Similarly, for the past four years, the United States Postmaster General has authorized for varying periods in a number of United States post offices the use of an identically worded cancellation stamp advertising the Crusade for Freedom. This year the stamp, which was intended solely to encourage voluntary domestic financial contributions for this privately supported organization, was used from January 1 through March 31 in certain post offices and because of the mechanical procedure followed was placed on correspondence passing through these post offices whether destined for delivery in the United States or abroad. Mail addressed to Hungary was in no instance especially singled out for stamping with this slogan and only a minute portion of the mail so stamped was in fact enroute to Hungary.

The United States was astonished to learn that, whereas the Hungarian authorities have raised no objection in previous years to similarly marked letters, they have refused this year to deliver such mail. It is indeed regrettable if the situation in Hungary is now such that a slogan in support of

freedom is viewed by Hungarian authorities as an incitement of "counterrevolutionary elements." This attitude of the Hungarian authorities would appear to imply that they regard as "counterrevolutionary elements" all those Hungarian citizens who aspire to freedom.

The United States Government cannot agree that the use of the stamp in question constituted a violation of Article 1, Section 2 of the Universal Postal Union Convention. Surely the use of a cancellation stamp advertising a private organization dedicated to the cause of freedom in no way conflicts with the development of international cooperation in the field of postal services. On the other hand, the arbitrary action taken by the Hungarian Postal Administration in returning letters so stamped has prevented in many instances normal correspondence between United States residents and their relatives and acquaintances in Hungary. The failure of the Postal Administration of Hungary to notify the Postal Service of the United States directly of its decision to prevent delivery of such letter mail is likewise inconsistent with the principle of international cooperation in postal service. Thus it would appear to the United States Government that it is in fact the Hungarian authorities who have violated the spirit of Article 1, Section 2 of the Universal Postal Union Convention, which states that the purpose of the Universal Postal Union is to assure the improvement of postal services and the promotion in that sphere of international cooperation.

Hungarian Note of March 8

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic presents its compliments to the Legation of the United States of America in Budapest and informs it of the following:

Competent Hungarian authorities have informed the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that recently postal authorities of the U. S. Government have been endeavoring to use private letters coming from the United States of America to Hungary for incitement to subversion in this country. A considerable part of these letters bears the stamp "Support Your Crusade for Freedom," which is obviously intended to incite the counterrevolutionary elements defeated last November to further subversive activity and atrocities against the people. As to what kind

of freedom crusade is meant by the pertinent U. S. authorities can be concluded from the activity of the American organization bearing a similar name which played an active role in the counterrevolutionary events in Hungary. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic condemns this activity of the U. S. Government organs and expresses its astonishment at the fact that such steps have been resorted to by the authorities of a Government the representatives of which proclaim peaceful aspirations at international forums.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs states that the use of postal consignments for the above-mentioned aims violates Art. 1/1-2 of Chapter I of the Universal Postal Convention to which the U.S. Government is also a Party. At the same time the American Government authorities, not having learned from past experiences, through their aforesaid activity are overtly and repeatedly interfering with the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. By reasons of the facts referred to above the Hungarian Government expresses its most energetic protest and demands that the Government of the United States of America put an immediate end to the use of the inciting postmarks.

The Hungarian Government, consistently striving to improve and to make cordial its relations with the United States, sincerely hopes that the U.S. Government is led by similar intentions, and for that very reason it expects the U.S. Government to take firm measures in order to stop the ill-willed propaganda activity mentioned above.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Legation of the United States of America the assurances of its high consideration.

Eightieth Anniversary of Rumanian Independence

Press release 279 dated May 9

On May 10 Rumanians everywhere recall with pride the anniversary of the independence of their country. Although no longer celebrated by the Communist Government of Rumania as the national holiday, this date continues to be associated in the hearts and minds of the Rumanian people with the historic events by which Rumania gained independence from foreign overlords in 1877 and took its place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

The people of the United States, who know well the invaluable quality of freedom, appreciate the feelings of the people of Rumania at this time and extend to them their warmest greetings.

Visit of President Ngo Dinh Diem of Free Viet-Nam

Following is the text of a joint statement released by the White House on May 11 after talks held by President Ngo Dinh Diem of the Republic of Viet-Nam and President Eisenhower during the former's visit to Washington, together with an address made by President Ngo Dinh Diem before a joint session of the Congress on May 9, greetings exchanged on his arrival at the airport on May 8, and a list of his official party.

JOINT STATEMENT, MAY 11

His Excellency Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Viet-Nam, and President Eisenhower have held discussions during President Ngo Dinh Diem's state visit as the guest of President Eisenhower during May 8-10.

Their discussions have been supplemented by meetings between President Ngo Dinh Diem and his advisers and Secretary of State Dulles and other American officials. These meetings afforded the occasion for reaffirming close mutual friendship and support between the Republic of Viet-Nam and the United States. The two Presidents exchanged views on the promotion of peace and stability and the development and consolidation of freedom in Viet-Nam and in the Far East as a whole.

President Eisenhower complimented President Ngo Dinh Diem on the remarkable achievements of the Republic of Viet-Nam under the leadership of President Ngo Dinh Diem since he took office in July 1954. It was noted that in less than three years a chaotic situation resulting from years of war had been changed into one of progress and stability.

Nearly one million refugees who had fled from Communist tyranny in North Viet-Nam had been cared for and resettled in Free Viet-Nam.

Internal security had been effectively established.

A constitution had been promulgated and a national assembly elected.

Plans for agrarian reform have been launched, and a constructive program developed to meet long-range economic and social problems to promote higher living standards for the Vietnamese people.

President Ngo Dinh Diem reviewed with President Eisenhower the efforts and means of the Vietnamese Government to promote political stability and economic welfare in the Republic of Viet-Nam. President Eisenhower assured President Ngo Dinh Diem of the willingness of the United States to continue to offer effective assistance within the constitutional processes of the United States to meet these objectives.

President Eisenhower and President Ngo Dinh Diem looked forward to an end of the unhappy division of the Vietnamese people and confirmed the determination of the two Governments to work together to seek suitable means to bring about the peaceful unification of Viet-Nam in freedom in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It was noted with pleasure that the General Assembly of the United Nations by a large majority had found the Republic of Viet-Nam qualified for membership in the United Nations, which has been prevented by Soviet opposition.

President Eisenhower and President Ngo Dinh Diem noted in contrast the large build-up of Vietnamese Communist military forces in North Viet-Nam during the past two and one-half years, the harsh suppression of the revolts of the people of North Viet-Nam in seeking liberty, and their increasing hardships. While noting the apparent diminution during the last three years of Communist-inspired hostilities in Southeast Asia except in the Kingdom of Laos, President Eisenhower and President Ngo Dinh Diem expressed concern over continuing Communist subversive capabilities in this area and elsewhere. In particular, they agreed that the continued military build-up of the Chinese Communists, their refusal to renounce the use of force, and their unwilling-

ness to subscribe to standards of conduct of civilized nations constitute a continuing threat to the safety of all free nations in Asia. To counter this threat, President Ngo Dinh Diem indicated his strong desire and his efforts to seek closer cooperation with the free countries of Asia.

Noting that the Republic of Viet-Nam is covered by Article IV of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, President Eisenhower and President Ngo Dinh Diem agreed that aggression or subversion threatening the political independence of the Republic of Viet-Nam would be considered as endangering peace and stability. The just settlement of problems of the area by peaceful and legitimate means within the framework of the United Nations Charter will continue to be the mutual concern of both Governments. Finally, President Eisenhower and President Ngo Dinh Diem expressed the desire and determination of the two Governments to cooperate closely together for freedom and independence in the world.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT NGO DINH DIEM TO THE CONGRESS¹

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, distinguished Members of the Congress of the United States:

It is a rare privilege for me to have this opportunity to address you today. To address you in the halls of this Congress, where there has been forged the destiny of one of the great countries of the world.

I am proud to bring to the distinguished representatives of the noble Republic of the United States the fraternal best wishes of the Vietnamese people. I bring as well the expression of their profound gratitude for the moral and material aid given by the people of the United States. My people appreciate both its great import and its profound significance.

Since the end of the last war, when Asia broke her chains, the conscience of the world has at last awakened to a profound and inevitable development—the birth of Asian independence. This realization has brought about a condemnation in the most concrete terms of the old system of exploitation which governed, in the past, the relations between East and West. In its place firm

efforts are being made to establish a new formula of international cooperation, more adapted to the real needs of the world and to the new Asian philosophy. It is the battle for independence, the growing awareness of the colonial peoples that the origin of their poverty has been the systematic withholding of technical development, coupled with the growing nationalist and social sentiment, that have combined to bring about a profound transformation in the Asian state of mind and given to its masses an irresistible dynamism.

The Asian people, long humiliated in their national aspirations, their human dignity injured, are no longer, as in the past, resigned and passive. They are impatient. They are eager to reduce their immense technical backwardness. They clamor for a rapid and immediate economic development, the only sound base for democratic political independence.

The leaders of Asia, whatever their ideologies, are all faced with the tragic urgency of the economic and social problems of their countries. Under the strong pressure of their peoples they are compelled to adopt economic planning. Such planning is bound to cause serious political repercussions. It is for this reason that the main theme of domestic political debates in Asian countries centers around the extent of planning needed, the indispensable method required to bring urgent practical results. Should everything be planned or should planning be restricted to essential sectors? Should democratic or should ruthless totalitarian methods be adopted?

It is in this debate—unfortunately influenced in many countries by the false but seductive promises of fascism and communism—that the efforts being made to safeguard liberal democracy through aid given by the industrial countries of the West play a vital role. For the honor of humanity the United States has made the most important contribution to this end.

These, gentlemen of the Congress, in outline and general summary, are some of the problems facing the countries of Asia. These are the goals to be realized and the methods proposed. These are also the internal pressures and temptations facing Asian leaders.

In the great Asian land mass Viet-Nam finds itself in the most sensitive area. Although Viet-Nam faces the same general problems of other Asian countries, because of her sensitive geopolitical position her problems are greatly intensified.

¹ Reprinted from *Cong. Rec.* of May 9, p. 5978.

Placed at one of the strategic points of access for the important raw materials of Southeast Asia—the possession of which is decisive in the world, held back in her development by 100 years of foreign domination, exhausted by 15 years of war and destruction, the northern half of her territory given to the Communists, Free Viet-Nam is in a more menaced and critical position than other Asian countries.

At great human sacrifice and thanks to the aid given by the generous American people, Free Viet-Nam has succeeded, in record time, to overcome the chaos brought about by war and the Geneva Accords. The national rehabilitation and stability which have been achieved have permitted the integration of over 860,000 refugees into the economy of the other 11 million people in Free Viet-Nam and have permitted the adoption of important economic and political reforms.

Nevertheless, at the time all Asia is passing from one civilization to another, at the moment when all the important problems come up at once to the leaders and seem to call for immediate solution, at a time when all must be done in a climate of increasing revolutionary tension, it has become necessary for Viet-Nam—more than for other countries—to adopt a certain number of principles, guidelines for action, not only to protect her from the totalitarian temptations but, above all, to assist her to attain independence instead of anarchy, to safeguard peace without sacrificing independence, to attain economic progress without sacrificing essential human liberties.

It was for these reasons, basing myself on fundamental sources of Asiatic culture and within our own Vietnamese democratic tradition, that I had the honor to define this doctrine in the message of the 17th of April, 1956, delivered to the National Constituent Assembly of Viet-Nam. I take the liberty of citing from it the most significant passages, for they constitute the basis of our Constitution. I quote:

In the face of the massive forces of material and political oppression which constantly menace us, we feel—more than other people—the essential need to base our political life on a solid foundation and rigorously to hasten the successive steps of our actions along lines which, without hesitation, will bring about the largest measure of democratic progress.

This can only be spiritualist—that line followed by human beings in their intimate reality as in their com-

munity life, in their vocation as in the free pursuit of intellectual, moral, and spiritual perfection.

We affirm, therefore, our faith in the absolute value of the human being, whose dignity antedates society and whose destiny is greater than time.

We affirm that the sole legitimate object of the state is to protect the fundamental rights of human beings to existence, to the free development of their intellectual, moral, and spiritual life.

We affirm that democracy is neither material happiness nor the supremacy of numbers. Democracy is essentially a permanent effort to find the right political means in order to assure to all citizens the right of free development and of maximum initiative, responsibility, and spiritual life.

We are convinced that with these guiding principles as the central theme for the development of our political institutions, Viet-Nam will be able to make its political and economic regime not a closed one but an open system, broader with each passing day until it reaches the broad dimensions of man.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Gentlemen of the Congress, the Republic of Viet-Nam, the youngest republic in Asia, soon will be 2 years old. Our Republic was born among great suffering. She is courageously facing up to economic competition with the Communists, despite heavy and difficult conditions, which become daily more complex. Viet-Nam nevertheless has good reason for confidence and hope. Her people are intelligent—have imagination and courage. They also draw strength from the moral and material aid they received from the free world—particularly that given by the American people.

In the face of increased international tension and Communist pressure in Southeast Asia, I could not repeat too often how much the Vietnamese people are grateful for American aid and how much they are conscious of its importance, profound significance, and amount.

In actual fact, at any other moment of history the conflicts between peoples have never been posed in such immediate terms of civilization as they are today. It is by having made timely contributions in sufficient quantities for the rehabilitation of our economic and technical life—which permitted a higher standard of living—that the free world, under the leadership of the United States, is assuring the success of the new system of international cooperation. This action has contributed to the defense of Southeast Asia and prevented the raw materials of this area from falling into Communist hands.

Although our economy has suffered greatly from war, destruction, and colonialism, the people of Viet-Nam are now increasing their contribution to their country. A few months ago the National Assembly voted new and higher taxes to bring in needed revenues for the national budget. A national conscription ordinance was recently promulgated, and a comprehensive declaration of policy was issued 2 months ago for the purpose of encouraging foreign private investment.

It is on this high moral plane that we pay tribute to the generous and unselfish assistance we have received from the people of the United States. It is on the same plane that the interests of Viet-Nam are identical with the interests of the people of the free world. It is on this plane that your and our fight is one and the same. We too will continue to fight communism.

It is in this conviction and in the ardent and always present remembrance of the strong sympathetic comprehension with which the American people and Government have followed our efforts that I close, in thanking you once again, Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Congress, for the honor you have bestowed on me and for your kind attention.

EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS AT AIRPORT

White House press release dated May 8

President Eisenhower:

Mr. President, it is indeed an honor for any American to invite you to this country. You have exemplified in your corner of the world patriotism of the highest order. You have brought to your great task of organizing your country the greatest of courage, the greatest of statesmanship—qualities that have aroused our admiration and make us indeed glad to welcome you.

We hope sincerely that the talks that we shall be able to have in these next few days will do much to strengthen still further the friendship between your country and this one. You are indeed welcome, sir.

President Ngo Dinh Diem:

Mr. President, this is a great joy for me to be again in Washington and a great honor to be welcomed by you. I thank you very much for your

kind words about me. But it is mostly the courage of the Vietnamese people, your own faith in my country, and unselfish American aid which has accomplished a miracle at Viet-Nam.

The history of these last 30 months is a shining example of what faith, determination, and solidarity can do to uphold and strengthen freedom in the world.

MEMBERS OF OFFICIAL PARTY

The Department of State announced on May 3 (press release 262) the members of the official party for the visit of President Ngo Dinh Diem to Washington, May 8-11. They are as follows:

Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Viet-Nam
Tran Van Chuong, Ambassador of Viet-Nam to the United States

Nguyen Huu Chau, Secretary of State for Interior and to the Presidency

Tran Le Quang, Secretary of State for Public Works and Communications

General Tran Van Don, Chief of Staff of General Staff, Acting Senior Aide-de-Camp

Huynh Van Diem, Director General of Planning

Vu Van Thai, Administrator General of Foreign Aid

Vo Van Hai, President's Chief Private Secretary and Acting Protocol Officer

Ton That Thien, Chief of President's Press and Information Service and Interpreter

Wiley T. Buchanan, Jr., Chief of Protocol, Department of State

Elbridge Durbrow, American Ambassador to the Republic of Viet-Nam

Rear Adm. D. L. MacDonald, USN, American Aide to the President of the Republic of Viet-Nam

Victor Purse, Deputy Chief of Protocol, Department of State

Stuart P. Lillico, Press Officer, Department of State

U. S. Air Force Missile Unit To Be Stationed on Taiwan

The following announcement was released jointly at Taipei on May 7 by the American Embassy and the Foreign Office of the Government of the Republic of China.

The United States and the Republic of China in 1954 entered into a mutual defense agreement.¹ In conjunction with measures already taken by the

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Dec. 13, 1954, p. 899.

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United States to strengthen the defenses of Taiwan and thereby of the Western Pacific, the United States and the Republic of China have agreed to the future stationing on Taiwan of a U.S. Air Force unit, equipped with tactical missiles, Matador.

As is the case elsewhere in the world, including

NATO countries, this action is taken wholly for the defensive purpose of deterring and if necessary repelling attack.

For many months the Chinese Communists have been threatening the use of force in the Taiwan area and greatly developing their mainland offensive capabilities opposite Taiwan.

The Element of Faith in the Conduct of Foreign Affairs

by Roy R. Rubottom, Jr.
Acting Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs¹

In the great issue which faces our country today—the challenge of godless materialistic communism—the most potent resource we possess is our faith. This must be nurtured and strengthened—faith in ourselves, faith in our own Government, faith in our friends and allies. Much of the strength which we are able to muster to meet the Communist challenge comes from the fact that in certain areas of our foreign relations we are able to, and do, act on a basis of faith. An area in which this is true, and on which I want to talk to you tonight, is in our relations with the 20 Republics of Latin America.

The relationship which exists within this inter-American community has been characterized as being one of "good neighbors" and, more recently, as "good partners." Both of these expressions are appropriate, but, to me at least, they do not fully describe our unique and intimate relationship. Neighborliness there certainly is in the warmth of our friendships and in the sharing of our problems and their solution in the best interest of all concerned. Partnership is likewise a fact in our relationship, for we are all convinced that in contributing to the economic and general well-being of each other we contribute to our own strength. But over and above this neighborliness

and partnership there has developed a spiritual kinship which distinguishes this from ordinary relationships.

This kinship is built on good faith. I like to think of it in terms of the relationship which must have grown up among pilgrims in ancient times who journeyed together in a band toward some holy shrine. They were intent upon reaching a common goal, of great significance to each individually, by a common means or road which each had individually chosen for that purpose. They were confronted with common perils, which they could best confront by joining together for mutual protection and succor. Of varying degrees of wealth, of different size and age and background, each still retained his individuality or sovereignty, but they pressed on united by their common objective, which was essentially spiritual. All of these things are as true of the 21 American Republics as they were of this hypothetical band of pilgrims.

This unique relationship, spiritual as well as practical, is not something which came into being overnight by some miraculous means; it is the conception of many of our great leaders, something which has been striven for since the early part of the last century when the states of Latin America liberated themselves and joined us in American freedom. Our own success in achieving independence and setting up for our-

¹ Address made before the Yale Political Union, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., on May 7 (press release 270).

selves a representative government provided the inspiration and model for their independence movements.

While this concept of an inter-American community may be traced back to our early history, its development has been neither easy nor automatic. Many factors worked to frustrate early efforts to unite us, largely distance and difficult geography, which are now being overcome. Later some countries, including our own, adopted policies which temporarily made impossible the development of this community. It is only in the past 25 years, and particularly in the past decade, that those factors which tended to separate the American Republics began to disappear. The progress in that period has been so great that Secretary Dulles said 2 years ago:²

This great inter-American system, which was first a vision and a dream and then an expression of faith, has become in our own time the most solid international organization of free peoples on earth. It is the family tree of America—its multiple roots deep in our common New World history—its 21 branches each a proud, independent nation, its rich fruits beneficial to all mankind. After more than a century and a quarter, Bolívar's prophetic declaration that in the freedom of the Americas lies the hope of the world has lost neither verity nor immediacy.

It is not surprising that this past decade has also been the one in which the American Republics have made their greatest gains in the achievement of international peace and economic progress.

Effectiveness of Inter-American System

I would like now to review some of the concrete accomplishments of our 21 Republics in our joint endeavors during this period.

In recent years the effectiveness of the inter-American system in the maintenance of peace has been particularly outstanding. The likelihood of serious armed conflict between countries of this hemisphere has become extremely unlikely because of this system of international relations which we now enjoy. How was this accomplished?

First, over a period of years our countries have developed a set of principles which govern their relations with each other, placing these relations on a firm and mutually accepted basis of law and morality. These principles derive their strength,

perhaps equally, from their basic simplicity and their universal acceptance within the inter-American community. The most fundamental of these principles are:

—The recognition of the sovereign equality of states,

—The duty to settle disputes by peaceful means,

—The doctrine of nonintervention; that is, that no state shall have a right to interfere in the internal affairs of another.

These principles, which have during the past generation been so frequently and effectively expressed by leading figures throughout the hemisphere, have become universally accepted by our peoples. Their effectiveness as guidelines for our relationships within the American community urges us to maintain and further develop them for the future and to encourage their extension to other areas of the world.

Of these principles there is one which many people in the United States, and also in Latin America, are just beginning to comprehend. That is the doctrine of nonintervention. Perhaps it is because they feel such a close kinship to their neighbors that they feel they should tell them how to run their domestic affairs. The homely, but truthful, maxim to be drawn from that situation is the one we recurrently find in the comic strip—there is nothing more certain to bring together the battling husband and wife than the well-intentioned neighbor who steps in piously to settle everything. For a period the United States took upon itself the role of such a neighbor. We not only reaped animosity of the wives and husbands but of the entire neighborhood, who, furthermore, found a number of things in our own household to find fault with.

Assuredly, there is ample opportunity for any individual in the United States to express his opinions and to offer constructive suggestions with regard to current situations in the Americas. In fact, this is healthful. Our Latin American friends are just as prone to air their views on such United States subjects as segregation, labor racketeering, or the size of our budget. But I do feel that none of us should expect our governments to play the part of the well-intentioned neighbor in the comic strip.

Not a great many years ago the United States assumed the self-appointed role of policeman in parts of this hemisphere. The ill will which was

² BULLETIN of May 2, 1955, p. 729.

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generated by this unhappy course of action among the people of Latin America is only now disappearing. Today, in the Organization of American States, we have the police power vested where it should be, that is, in all of the 21 Republics which make up that organization. Maintenance of the peace in the Americas is now a joint responsibility. The multilateral machinery for carrying out this responsibility was created, and agreed to, in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance signed at Rio de Janeiro.

Maintaining the Peace

Since the Rio Treaty came into force in 1949, there have been four occasions in which it has been applied in order to deal with threats or acts of aggression involving American states. In each instance the American governments, acting through the Organization of American States, demonstrated their readiness to do what was necessary to maintain the peace. In so acting the governments were supported by public opinion, which was aroused throughout the continent, and in each case peace has been maintained or restored *without any resort to force or sanctions*. Further than that, some of the countries between which serious conflicts arose have been helped to achieve new eras of cordiality and friendship as a result of the intervention of the Organization of American States.

This is a timely subject. Right now an OAS fact-finding committee is in Central America to investigate the Honduras-Nicaragua dispute which has threatened the peace between those countries.³ When the Rio Treaty was invoked last Wednesday [May 1], the OAS Council met at once and by Friday noon the well-oiled peace machinery was functioning. The committee, composed of representatives of Panama, Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, and the United States, was at the scene—in Tegucigalpa on Saturday, in Managua on Sunday. Reports indicate that the fighting has been stopped. This is indicative of both the speed and effectiveness with which the OAS is prepared to act in a situation threatening the peace of the hemisphere. Its value in an emergency such as this would be difficult to exaggerate.

The action of the OAS is a concrete example of the importance of faith in the reestablishment of peaceful relations between two neighboring re-

publics. The OAS committee which is investigating the disputes is not empowered to enforce any decisions which it may make, yet such is the prestige of the organization, and the confidence which its members have in it, that it was quickly able to arrange a cease-fire. It can be hoped that this will provide the time and the atmosphere necessary for the development of a long-term solution to the problem. Our Government, as a member of the OAS, stands ready to support the constructive efforts of the OAS to resolve this controversy.

It is significant that peace in the Americas is not one imposed by a superior power. It is a peace based on the expressed will of the people and the consequent self-restraint of governments. This peace is, in fact, more than a passive absence of armed conflict—it is a dynamic force. It is faith at work.

For instance, the regional mutual defense organization formalized in the Rio Treaty of 1947 served as the prototype for NATO and other mutual defense arrangements which have been created more recently within the framework of the United Nations. Two features which are fundamental in the Rio Treaty are those relating to collective self-defense and common action in the event of armed attack, and to the steps to be taken when faced with situations which threaten the peace and security of the American states but that fall short of an armed attack. The framework of many collective defense treaties which free nations have created since 1947 is based on these two features. Even the structure of the United Nations organization benefited from the experience of the American Republics in the development of our community organization.

A noteworthy step in the development of hemisphere security was taken at the Tenth Conference of American States in Caracas in 1954. While the doctrine that there should be no further European colonization or the extension of any despotic political system to the American Hemisphere had been accepted by all of us, the Caracas Declaration⁴ gave this truth a further historic application. It was recognized that, if international communism should gain control of the political institutions of any one American state, it would

³ For text of "Declaration of Solidarity for the Preservation of the Political Integrity of the American States against International Communist Intervention," see *ibid.*, Apr. 26, 1954, p. 638.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1957, p. 811.

be a threat to the security of us all and would call for joint action. This mutual determination not to compromise with communism, this mutual recognition that an extension of Communist colonialism to our hemisphere would imperil the peace of the Americas, heartened the people of Guatemala to recover their lost freedom from the Communists then dominating their Government.

An example of the inventiveness and imagination which the Organization of American States brought to bear on the problem of maintaining peace in the hemisphere occurred in 1955. On January 11 of that year the Government of Costa Rica informed the Council of the Organization of American States that its territory had been invaded by forces based in Nicaragua. At the request of Costa Rica, the Council of the Organization of American States met immediately. It invoked the provisions of the Rio Treaty and as a first step sent an investigating committee to the scene. This committee, composed of representatives of the United States, Mexico, Brazil, Paraguay, and Ecuador, was named at 9 p.m. By 6 a.m. the following morning they were airborne. The following day this OAS investigating committee took what was a historic decision. In view of the circumstances it found, it set up for the first time an international aerial patrol under the supervision of an OAS body for the purpose of making peaceful observations over the region affected by the conflict. Four American nations participated in this operation under the aegis of the OAS.⁵

Not only was this use of peaceful observation flights under the supervision of the investigation committee a new development in inter-American peace machinery—it anticipated the whole “open skies” concept of the use of aircraft to control potential belligerent operations.

Committee of Presidential Representatives

Last summer, when he met with the other American Presidents in Panama, President Eisenhower made a new proposal designed to strengthen what he called “the most successfully sustained adventure in international community living that the world has ever seen”—that is, the Organization of American States.⁶ At this meeting of Presi-

dents there was ready acceptance of his proposal that each President appoint a special personal representative to meet together and prepare concrete recommendations for making the Organization of American States a more effective instrument in those fields of cooperative effort that affect the welfare of the individual. Following preliminary meetings held last September and in January of this year, this Inter-American Committee of Presidential Representatives is now in Washington completing their recommendations for the expansion of the activities of the OAS in the economic, financial, social, and technical fields. Based on the success of the OAS in the solution of political problems, it can be expected that these expanded activities in the economic and related fields will have an impact on the solution of the problem confronting all of our peoples as individuals—how to provide a more prosperous, healthful, and rewarding life for themselves and their families.

Much yet remains to be done in this respect in our hemisphere. It is therefore fortunate that Latin America—to deal with that part of the area outside the United States and Canada—constitutes one of the most rapidly progressing regions of the world. Population is increasing there more rapidly than in any other of the world’s major regions. For the first time since the colonial period, the population of Latin America in 1950 exceeded that of the United States. A continuation of the expected increase there will mean that by the year 2000 Latin America will have a population double that of the United States and Canada combined.

This growth demands a tremendous increase in the production of goods and services merely to maintain the area’s existing standard of living. It is encouraging to find that Latin America is not, however, merely standing still. Actually, taking the area as a whole, the average annual increase of gross national product, in real terms, has been 5.5 percent since the end of World War II. This may be compared favorably with the rate for Western Europe or the United States. Looked at in its true perspective, far from being an “underdeveloped” area, as some have suggested, Latin America comprises an economic frontier where today the world’s most dramatic economic development is going on.

⁵ For an address by Henry F. Holland on “OAS Action in the Costa Rican Conflict,” see *ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1955, p. 178.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1956, p. 219.

This, however, in no way justifies any sense of complacency. Future progress in Latin America will have to be achieved at the same price as its past notable development—hard, resourceful work, self-discipline, and a willingness to grapple with difficult problems. In this task, we can expect our neighbors to continue to depend basically on the enterprise of the individual to create from their resources the wealth needed for this growth. The building of the future of this great continent, as big a task as it is, is not too big for the private enterprise of the 350 million people who inhabit it. The role of governments, as we have long since learned, should be to provide conditions under which the responsible individual citizen can achieve his full God-given potential.

The people of the United States are making an important contribution to the economic development of Latin America. They have private direct investments there totaling over \$7 billion and are increasing this investment at the rate of \$500 million per year. This is of great mutual benefit. Earnings on these investments are rewarding to the investors, but, further, they also provide 600,000 Latin American employees with a billion-dollar annual payroll, they pay over a billion dollars in local taxes, and they produced goods and services valued at \$4.8 billion in 1955 and made a net contribution to the Latin American economies in that year of \$3.5 billion.

This contribution made by our private citizens to their economies is complemented by our Government, through Export-Import Bank loans, which in the past 4 years totaled \$1.1 billion for Latin America, by our technical assistance programs, by emergency grant aid in three instances, and by the sale of surplus agricultural commodities for local currencies.

I have discussed, or outlined, a number of aspects of these relationships which go to make of the inter-American community the closely knit

organization it is today. My purpose has been to underscore the reasons why the element of faith is so essential in the conduct of our international relations with these neighbors, these partners, these fellow pilgrims. That this element pervades our relation with our Latin American neighbors is perhaps the reason why the headlines of our newspapers seldom are concerned with these relationships. This apparent lack of editorial concern can be, and has been, misconstrued as lack of sympathy or disinterest. I am convinced that it is neither. It is rather that in the world of today, in which crises occur on an almost hourly basis, we in the Americas live in such an intimate and peaceful relationship as to seldom call for sensational news treatment.

The people of the United States have reason to have faith in their friends, their allies, their fellow Americans with whom we share this New World of ours, as they—our Latin American friends and allies—are entitled to have faith in us. United in this faith, we peoples of the Americas have an obligation to work together with others in bringing to the rest of the world the peace, justice, material well-being, and spiritual progress such as we enjoy in this hemisphere.

United States Recognizes New Government of Haiti

Press release 274 dated May 7

The United States Embassy at Port-au-Prince on May 7 informed the Executive Council of Government of Haiti that the United States Government has recognized the new Government of Haiti.

Gerald A. Drew was sworn in as United States Ambassador to Haiti on May 6. He plans to arrive in Port-au-Prince on May 9.

Widening Horizons for Women in Latin America

by C. Allan Stewart

Deputy Director, Office of Middle American Affairs¹

Everybody knows the heroic story of the pioneer women in this hemisphere. The patterns of that epic of the frontier and the settlement were pretty much alike throughout the New World, in Latin America as well as in the English colonies. There was, of course, one essential difference: Spanish women came here a full century and a quarter before any English woman set foot on American soil. In fact, as you may remember, Ponce de León, who sailed with Columbus on his second voyage in 1493 and, in due course of time, himself sailed from Puerto Rico to discover Florida, married the daughter of another one of those Spanish colonizers.

However, while we are all familiar with stories of how fully women participated in the groundbreaking and the homemaking, it is not so generally known that, from the very beginning, women have contributed significant leadership as well. An Indian princess, Anacaona, on the West Indian island of Hispaniola, was one of the first to further friendship between conquistadores and Indians. She befriended Columbus and his companions and helped greatly in establishing the Spanish settlement. It is true that she was ultimately betrayed and slain, but after four centuries her memory endures as a woman who contributed toward laying bases of understanding and co-operation, as Pocahontas was to do generations later in Virginia. Another Indian girl, the wise and lovely Marina, was guide and companion to Cortés in the conquest of Mexico and interpreted for him not only the speech but the culture and psychology of her people.

¹ Address made before the Miami Women's Club, Miami, Fla., on Apr. 16.

It is even more surprising to reflect that in the difficult period of colonization four women in Latin America ruled as governors, a post of great difficulty and danger. They were Isabel, the wife of Hernando de Soto, whom he left in Cuba as acting governor when he set out on his last expedition; Catalina Montejo, who governed in Yucatán after her father's death; Beatriz, the wife of Alvarado, Conquistador of Guatemala, who assumed the governorship when her husband was slain in battle; and Brites de Albuquerque, who in the 16th century governed Nova Lusitania, one of the most important provinces of Brazil. In the 17th century two remarkable women poets wrote in and of the Americas—Anne Bradstreet in Massachusetts, whose work is too often dismissed too summarily, and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz in Mexico, the first great lyric voice of America to be heard overseas and still one of the great lyric poets of world literature.

In that tradition, we should recall also Gabriela Mistral, the Chilean poet and Nobel Prize winner, whose recent death was mourned around the world.

Latin American Women in Public Affairs

One of the most striking features of present-day Latin American life is the increasing participation of women in public affairs. At the present time women are empowered to vote in elections and themselves to be candidates for office in every American Republic except one—Paraguay. In Haiti, while full voting privileges for women are authorized, women will have their first opportunity of casting their votes for president in the next elections.

Up to the present, no American Republic has had a woman president, but several have had women cabinet ministers. Now holding that rank are Señora Cecilia de Remón, Minister of Labor, Social Work, and Health of Panama, and Señora Josefina Valencia de Hubach, Minister of Education of Colombia. There are also distinguished women ambassadors, including at present Señora Amalia de Castillo Ledón, Ambassador of Mexico to Sweden, and Señorita Minerva Bernardino, Ambassador of the Dominican Republic to the United Nations. There are many women on the Latin American delegations to the U. N. One of them, Señorita Uldarica Mañes of Cuba, is now sitting on the Security Council in representation of her country.

Several of the American Republics have had women members in congress for a number of years past. Latin American women also take an active part in municipal affairs. There are many women mayors. In fact, I understand that, so far as is known, the first woman ever to hold the office of mayor anywhere was in Chile in the 19th century.

Three weeks ago a very festive event occurred in the Chilean capital, when Señora María Teresa del Canto, Mayor of Santiago, gave a sisterly embrace of welcome to Señora Felisa Rincón de Gautier, Mayor of San Juan, Puerto Rico. The Mayor of San Juan, whom I am happy to call my friend and who is probably known to many of those here present because of her frequent visits to Florida, is on a good-will tour of South America. She may be said to represent, as does the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico itself, a combination of Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon traditions and influence. The result is dynamic—and attractive. Very fittingly, at Panamá last year Doña Felisa presided over the Inter-American Municipal Congress, an association of mayors and city officers from throughout the hemisphere. In this connection let me interject an interesting statistic: Puerto Rico has 9 women mayors; in our 48 States there are 50.

Progress in Education

No discussion of women in contemporary Latin America would be complete without some consideration of their progress in the field of education. Here again, it may surprise you—at least it surprised me—to hear that a Latin American institution of higher learning, the University of Chile,

was the first university in the world to open its doors to women students. At the present time, as I am informed from the Inter-American Commission of Women headquarters at the Pan American Union, no university in Latin America denies women the right to enroll. There is in fact an increasing enrollment of women in higher professional studies, including such unexpected courses as engineering.

The governments of the other American Republics are also demonstrating an intensified interest in the whole subject of vocational education for women. It may be said that this parallels a forceful campaign, of hemisphere proportions, in favor of equal pay for equal work. Several countries have women as university deans, among them Panama, El Salvador, and, again, Chile.

Inter-American Commission of Women

You are probably aware, to some extent at least, of the work of the Inter-American Commission of Women, to which I referred a few moments ago. This Commission, created by the Sixth Conference of American States at Habana in 1928, is a specialized agency of the Organization of American States. Its purpose is to advise the Oas on matters affecting the status of women in the American Republics and to submit reports and recommendations to the Conference of American States, which meets regularly every 5 years. (The 11th such conference will meet at Quito, Ecuador, next year.) The Commission also studies problems affecting women throughout the hemisphere, advises the member governments on proposed legislation affecting women, and seeks repeal of discriminatory legislation.

The 21 members of the Inter-American Commission of Women represent the 21 American Republics, and each is appointed by her own Government. The Commission holds a regular annual meeting and occasionally has additional meetings. One of these latter is a Conference on the Economic Status of Working Women in the Americas, scheduled to be held at Mexico City, April 20 to May 1. In addition to the members of the Inter-American Commission of Women itself, this conference will include technicians and directors of women's labor offices in the several countries and representatives of the International Labor Office and of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the Organization of Amer-

ican States. The agenda items include expanding and improving opportunities for women in trade, small industries, and cooperatives; social legislation for working women in domestic service as well as in salaried occupations; and the education of women for remunerative employment.

The regular annual meeting of the Inter-American Commission of Women, its 12th Assembly, will be held at the Pan American Union Building in Washington, D. C., in June. The 11th Assembly met last year in Ciudad Trujillo, capital of the Dominican Republic.² At each of these yearly assemblies, the Commission confines itself to two major fields of interest. Last year these were political and civil rights for women, including problems in the field of family and property law. At the forthcoming meeting at the Pan American Union the two primary topics will be education and economic opportunities.

There can be no doubt that the continuous work of the Inter-American Commission of Women during the past 29 years has been an influential contributing factor in the enlargement of opportunities for women educationally, professionally, and economically and no less, undoubtedly, has helped greatly in obtaining suffrage for women voters. It is also true that the brightening picture in these respects is not due to any one cause alone but is part of the overall hemisphere picture of widening horizons of progress and opportunity. Women in all our countries are making their own contributions, as private citizens as well as members of organizations, and certainly in nonofficial as well as official capacities.

Exchange Program

Our own Department of State is well aware of the influence and significance of women in making

² For a report on the 11th Assembly by Mrs. Frances M. Lee, U.S. Representative on the Commission and U.S. delegate to the Assembly, see BULLETIN of Oct. 8, 1956, p. 562.

inter-American policies effective. One proof of this is the fact that a group of six Latin American women who are leaders in their several countries and respective fields are visiting the United States as guests of our Government. Their 5 weeks' tour will include Washington, Chapel Hill, Atlanta, Memphis, Phoenix and Flagstaff, San Francisco, Denver, Flint, and New York City.

The visitors will confer with women whose interests and activities are similar to their own. They will also observe the work of organizations and of individual citizens in our community and national life, especially the programs and community service of organizations, the development of leadership, training for volunteer services, the cooperation of organizations with one another, and citizen education programs. It may also be taken for granted that the visit of this group of distinguished Latin American women will afford all who come in contact with them a wealth of information about the status of women in Latin America, their work, and their admirable accomplishment.

It occurs to me that you might like to know the special interests of these six visitors. They are Miss Hilda Macedo, Chief of Women's Police and Professor of Law and Criminology at the University of São Paulo, Brazil; Miss María Edilia Valero Herrera, editor of the magazine *Ecos de América* and executive secretary of the *Hogar Americano*, of Venezuela; Miss María Esther Talamantes, president of the Mexican branch of the International Federation of Women Lawyers, of Mexico; Mrs. Leticia Antezana de Alberdi, president of the National Council, Women's Catholic Action, of Bolivia; Dr. Anita Arroyo González, columnist of the Havana daily *Diario de la Marina* and Assistant Professor of Literature at the University of Havana, Cuba; and Mrs. Celeste Samayoa de Espada, president of the Altura Club of Guatemala and free-lance writer, of Guatemala.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

The Common Market and the GATT

*Statement by Carl D. Corse
Chief, Trade Agreements and Treaties Division¹*

The treaty creating the European Economic Community is one of the most important subjects ever considered in the history of this body. The large attendance at this meeting is a measure of its significance.

The movement toward European integration, of which the treaty in question is the latest manifestation, is one of the striking developments of our time. The creation of a large continental market in Europe, characterized by a high degree of competition and mobility of resources, can contribute to the dynamic growth, prosperity, and long-term economic health of Europe. Such progress would permit this major trading area to play an increasingly active role in the elimination of trade barriers and the continuing movement toward worldwide multilateral trade and convertibility of currencies.

It is these considerations which in part have motivated the support which the United States has given to the movement for the economic integration of Western Europe. We believe that this movement is consistent with these objectives of the general agreement and the expansion of multilateral world trade. Indeed, we are convinced that in order to achieve its own objectives the proposed common market must pursue this same goal. For continental Western Europe, one of the world's great trading areas, has a major stake in the preservation and improvement of the worldwide trading system.

¹ Made before the Intersessional Committee of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade at Geneva, Switzerland, on Apr. 25. Mr. Corse was U.S. Delegate to the Intersessional Committee. This meeting, attended by representatives of 31 of the 35 governments that are Contracting Parties to the GATT, was held to discuss procedures for a forthcoming GATT review of the European Common Market Treaty, which has been signed, subject to ratification, by Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

The Contracting Parties had these considerations in mind when they recognized that the contribution which a genuine customs union would make to world trade and economic progress justified a derogation in its favor from article I of the general agreement.² At the same time they established in article XXIV certain tests by which to judge if a particular set of arrangements were in fact likely to produce a genuine customs union. One of our major purposes in considering the Common Market Treaty will be to judge if the proposed arrangements meet these tests.

In considering the relationship of this treaty to the general agreement, it is important, however, to avoid a narrow or legalistic approach, which in our view would serve neither the particular interests of the Six and of the other Contracting Parties, on the one hand, nor our common interest in the healthy functioning of the general agreement on the other. While the GATT review will be directly concerned with a decision on certain trade provisions of the treaty, it will be helpful to have in mind that the treaty involves a system going far beyond a simple customs union, since it provides for a far-reaching merger of economic interests and policy in a new entity—an economic community. The Six are thus undertaking among themselves a complex series of interrelated obligations in the interest of greater economic progress and well-being. Furthermore, the proposed union is unprecedented in its size and importance with the result that the potential repercussions for all the Contracting Parties are especially great. In the process of the general-agreement review it is reasonable to consider the probable effect of the treaty in concrete and practical terms on the trade of the Contracting Parties. We should seek in this way an adjustment of interests to the benefit of the Contracting Parties as a whole.

As you are well aware, the treaty we are con-

² Article I provides that all Contracting Parties shall accord most-favored-nation treatment to all other Contracting Parties.

sidering is a formidable document, and we in the United States have so far been able to give it only preliminary study. From this study we believe that the treaty, in its broad lines, is in conformity with the spirit and purposes of the general agreement. It provides for the elimination of all tariffs, quantitative restrictions, and analogous barriers within a defined period; it provides a "plan and schedule" for such elimination; it covers "substantially all" trade among the member countries. In these respects, it appears to meet the major tests in article XXIV of the general agreement.

There are, however, certain areas which, on the basis of our preliminary study, appear to give cause for concern. A few of these arise directly from the text of the treaty itself. More of them derive from provisions whose meaning is not fully clear to us. In any case, a great deal will undoubtedly depend on the spirit and manner in which the treaty is administered. I do not want to go into great detail on these points at this time, but I would like to mention a few to which we have given some attention.

One problem of major concern to all the Contracting Parties will be the level of the common external tariff. A judgment as to its conformity with the standards of article XXIV must await a study of the rates of this tariff when it has been completed and laid before the Contracting Parties; we believe this must be well in advance of the end of the first stage of the transitional period when the first changes in external tariffs are scheduled to take place. It is difficult to see how the Contracting Parties could endorse any mathematical formula in this connection; a proper judgment should depend on an item-by-item evaluation of the impact of the new common tariff. Because of the time this will require, as well as the need for negotiations concerning bound rates under article XXIV, paragraph 6, it is our earnest hope the members of the proposed community will make available a suggested common tariff as soon as possible.

An area of particular interest to us is that comprising the agricultural provisions of the treaty. We believe the provision in the treaty for the development of a common agricultural policy could promote the development over the longer term of sound agriculture in the area. What is done under

this heading will clearly have an important effect on the fulfillment of the objectives of the treaty as well as on the trade interests of many Contracting Parties. We are, however, concerned about a transitional system of long-term agreements and minimum prices. Such a system could set an unfortunate pattern for future trade in agricultural goods. It is essential that it be administered with due regard for the interests of third countries; otherwise it could do serious damage to the trading interests of other Contracting Parties. The provisions in the Common Market Treaty on this subject raise a number of questions in this connection on which clarification will be required.

We are also not very certain as to the meaning of the provisions of the treaty concerning quantitative restrictions maintained for balance-of-payments reasons. Here, too, clarification will be necessary on a number of points.

The implications of the provisions of the treaty concerning overseas territories are among the most difficult to determine. While we are sympathetic with the general purposes of the six countries in respect to contributing to the development of these areas, the specific provisions concerning trade raise questions in relation to the impact on the trade of many Contracting Parties.

This is not an exhaustive list of the concerns we may have with particular provisions of the treaty. All these questions will have to be considered in our general review. In this connection we note with interest and appreciation the recognition by the member states that their obligations under pre-existing international conventions are not affected by the treaty. We are confident that this body, which has already in the past proved its value to the trading nations of the world, will again show its worth as a framework in which solutions to these and other problems can be found in the interests of all.

The procedures on which we agree for further consideration of the common market should be such as to safeguard the interests of both non-members and members of the proposed community and contribute to the strength of the multi-lateral trading system. These procedures should provide an opportunity for the Contracting Parties to become thoroughly informed on all aspects of the problem in order that they may be dealt with constructively.

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Developments in Hungary October 1956–February 1957

U.S./U.N. press release 2669 dated May 2

Henry Cabot Lodge, the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, transmitted on May 2 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjold, a report¹ of developments in Hungary from October 23, 1956, to February 20, 1957, as observed by or reported to representatives of the U.S. Government. The report was prepared as a factual account of developments in Hungary during that period and is being sent to the Special U.N. Committee on the Problem of Hungary² in accordance with the Secretary-General's request to governments of January 28, 1957. Following is the text of Mr. Lodge's letter:

Pursuant to the request of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, transmitted by your note PO 210 of January 28, 1957, I have the honor to transmit herewith on instructions from the United States Government ten copies of a report on developments in Hungary from October 23, 1956 to February 20, 1957, as observed by or reported to representatives of the United States Government. The report was prepared as a factual account of developments in Hungary during that period. From the developments described in detail in the report, the United States Government draws the following conclusions:

(1) The Hungarian Revolution, which occurred on October 23–24, 1956, was a revolution, by definition. The population rose and attempted to change the government by force. The term "counter-revolution," used by the present rulers of Hungary, has no true meaning in fact, and may be considered purely a propaganda slogan. The only intelligible definition of the term is "a revolution against a revolution." But there was no revolution in Hungary immediately prior to October 23, 1956; in fact, there had been none for many years. Neither the events following the invasion of Hungary in 1945, nor the acquisition of power by the Hungarian Workers' (Communist) Party in 1948, fit the accepted definition of the word revolution inasmuch as the post-World War II political system was subverted by Soviet agents with the support of the Soviet Army.

¹ Not released.

² For background, see BULLETIN of Jan. 28, 1957, p. 138.

(2) Within less than twenty-four hours after the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution, the prerevolutionary regime was reduced to a position where it did not have the power, with the resources at its own disposal, to maintain itself; and the revolutionary masses did have the power to overcome any resistance that could be offered by the so-called government or its agencies. This is attested to by numerous impartial observers then in Budapest, and it is further demonstrated by the fact that within a few hours the "government" requested aid from the Soviet Army.

(3) From October 25 to approximately November 10, the situation can most accurately be described as war rather than revolution. The methods used by Soviet forces and their Hungarian collaborators to crush the resistance of the Hungarian people were those used in war. They included direct military action, with attendant slaughter and physical destruction, mass arrests, deportations of Hungarian citizens to the U.S.S.R., and elaborate efforts to deceive the Hungarians and the world by fraudulent "negotiations." Numerous witnesses have confirmed the use of all these methods. During this period, except for a brief interval of some three or four days between October 31 and November 3, almost continuous military action took place. This military action involved conflict between the armed forces of one nation—in overwhelming superiority potentially during the entire period, and actually from November 4 on—and the people of another nation, people poorly armed and organized, but effectively united against the enemy.

(4) There is no doubt that the Hungarian people were effectively united. Only a very small percentage of the Hungarian population supported the Soviet armed forces and these were primarily Government and Party personalities and political police units. Many observers who had first-hand knowledge of developments have testified to this fact.

(5) The effective unity of the Hungarian people was further reflected in the action taken by the Soviet Union in Hungary. The most convincing proof of Hungarian unity, and of the strength and fervor of the aspiration for freedom on the part of a unified people, was that a powerful, mechanized foreign army was required to crush the resistance of a poorly armed and poorly organized population of a small country. If such

force had not been considered necessary, it would not have been used. Further evidence of the strength and breadth of national resistance is to be found in the length of time required to crush the resistance. That steady fighting persisted in Budapest for some two weeks, after November 4 against impossible odds, is adequate proof. When a people is prepared to die by thousands in a practically hopeless cause, their sacrifice cannot be explained away as a superficial phenomenon carried out by a minority of "reactionary elements" and "foreign interventionists." With the heaviest damage from Soviet artillery inflicted on workers' districts, the "laboring class" can scarcely be said to have supported the invaders. Moreover, the strength and depth of popular resentment against Soviet domination are demonstrated by the fact that nearly 200,000 Hungarians have fled to an unknown life abroad rather than remain in a Hungary under Soviet domination.

(6) It is clear what the Hungarian people wanted. They wanted freedom to choose their own government and freedom from the presence of foreign troops and foreign agents. They also wanted satisfaction of those other related demands which appeared over and over again in printed appeals of student and worker groups, which were broadcast over free radios, and repeated to representatives of friendly foreign missions and the foreign press. To judge by the popular demands and by the popular support given to the workers' council movement, a national, democratic, multi-party government resting on popular elections, somewhat similar to Western European democracy but more socialist in character and neutral in international politics, appears to be what the people were willing to die for. No evidence exists that more than a minute and entirely inconsequential number of individuals had any desire to restore the political and social structure of pre-World War II Hungary.

(7) The Soviet intervention was an outright military attack, opposed by the Hungarian people. Such an attack was unnecessary to "preserve order"—in fact, during the brief interval when Soviet troops evacuated Budapest at the end of October, order was being restored with surprising rapidity. There was no active fighting on any appreciable scale when Soviet troops were not in Budapest. The Soviet contention that there was an organized "white terror" is another propaganda device. Isolated acts of reprisal against Hungarian police and other officials who, in serving as agents of a foreign power, had practiced acts of sadistic cruelty against their own people are understandable in the circumstances.

(8) The Soviet intervention was imperialist by definition, for a national opposition movement was crushed by foreign armed force and a puppet government installed which represented the interests of the alien occupying power rather than those of the people. The appeal for Soviet troop intervention, allegedly under the "terms of the Warsaw Pact," was sheer subterfuge. This so-called appeal was made by individuals whose policies and personalities were at that moment being repudiated by the Hungarian people, individuals who, since they had come to power through subversion and force, did not represent the Hungarian people.

(9) The present Hungarian regime has no popular support. This is evident from the fact that its policies have been in direct opposition to what the Hungarian people expressed as their major objectives during the revolt. Moreover, the present regime was installed by and continues to exist and to function solely because of the continued presence of Soviet armed forces.

These are conclusions that emerge from the United States Government's report. They prove that Soviet Communism is not only undemocratic, but oppressive and cruel. They prove further that the methods it used to suppress Hungarian independence were monstrous in the extreme.

TREATY INFORMATION

Protocol With Japan Supplementing Income Tax Convention

S. Exec. K, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

President's Transmittal Message

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 29, 1957.

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the protocol between the United States and Japan, signed at Tokyo on March 23, 1957, supplementing the convention of April 16, 1954,¹ for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report by the Secretary of State with respect to the protocol.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

(Enclosures: (1) Report by the Secretary of State; (2) supplementary income-tax protocol with Japan, signed March 23, 1957.)

Report of the Secretary of State

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 18, 1957.

The PRESIDENT,

The White House:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to submit to the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to ratification, if the President approve thereof, the protocol between the United States and Japan, signed at Tokyo on March 23, 1957, supplementing the convention of April 16, 1954, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

As in the case of the income-tax convention of 1954 (S. Ex. D, 83d Cong., 2d sess.; Treaties and Other International Acts Series 3176, 6 U. S. T.

149), the supplementary protocol was formulated as a result of technical discussions between officials of this Government and officials of the Government of Japan. The Department of State and the Department of the Treasury cooperated in the negotiation of the supplementary protocol. It has the approval of both Departments.

The protocol has a single substantive article of two paragraphs. It is provided in paragraph (1) that the Export-Import Bank of Japan shall be exempt from United States tax with respect to interest on loans or investments received by such bank from sources within the United States. It is provided reciprocally in paragraph (2) that the Export-Import Bank of Washington shall be exempt from Japanese tax with respect to interest on loans or investments received by such bank from sources within Japan.

The Department of the Treasury, in recommending that the protocol be signed and transmitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification, submitted a memorandum presenting pertinent background information. That memorandum reads as follows:

The Japanese Government has created an Export-Import Bank of Japan to promote the purchase of Japanese goods which is patterned after the Export-Import Bank of Washington. Under the existing Federal income-tax law, the Export-Import Bank of Japan, although wholly owned by the Japanese Government, is subject to tax on any income that it may derive from sources within the United States. Under the income-tax law of Japan, the Export-Import Bank of Washington is exempt from tax, but only on the basis of reciprocity. Accordingly, the failure of the United States to grant exemption to the Japanese bank threatens to interfere with the functioning of the Export-Import Bank of Washington. The imposition of a Japanese tax on the interest it derives from Japanese borrowers would either diminish the yield to the Export-Import Bank on its loans to the buyers of American products, or it would increase the interest cost of such foreign borrowers. Either result would reduce the effectiveness of the Export-Import Bank of Washington in achieving the objectives for which it was created. The proposed protocol to the existing income-tax convention between Japan and the United States is designed to remedy this situation by providing that each country shall grant tax exemption to the Export-Import Bank of the other country.

It is understood that no loans have been made by the Export-Import Bank of Japan to United States importers of Japanese goods and, hence, adoption of the proposed agreement would not have any adverse effect on United States revenues. On the other hand, substantial purchases by Japanese firms from United States producers

¹ BULLETIN of May 3, 1954, p. 692.

have been held in abeyance because of the absence of reciprocal tax exemption on the interest earnings of the two banks.

Article II of the protocol provides that the protocol shall enter into force on the date on which the two Governments exchange written notifications of ratification or approval thereof, and shall be effective with respect to interest received on and after January 1 of the calendar year in which the protocol enters into force. It is provided further that the protocol shall continue in force as long as the aforesaid convention of April 16, 1954, remains effective unless the protocol is terminated earlier by a 6 months' written notice of termination given by either Government to the other Government.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

(Enclosure: Supplementary income-tax protocol with Japan, signed March 23, 1957.)

Protocol Supplementing the Convention Between the United States of America and Japan for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion With Respect to Taxes on Income

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Japan,

Desiring to conclude a Protocol supplementing the Convention for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income signed at Washington, on April 16, 1954,

Have accordingly appointed their respective representatives for this purpose, who have agreed as follows:

I

(1) The Export-Import Bank of Japan shall be exempt from tax by the United States with respect to interest on loans or investments received by such Bank from sources within the United States.

(2) The Export-Import Bank of Washington shall be exempt from tax by Japan with respect to interest on loans or investments received by such Bank from sources within Japan.

II

(1) The present Protocol shall enter into force on the date of an exchange between the two Governments of written notifications of ratification or approval thereof, and shall be effective with respect to interest received on and after the first day of January of the calendar year in which it enters into force.

(2) The present Protocol shall continue in force as long as the aforesaid Convention of April 16, 1954 remains effective, unless it is terminated earlier by a six months' written notice of termination given by either Government to the other Government.

DONE in duplicate, in the English and Japanese languages, at Tokyo this twenty-third day of March, 1957.

For the Government of the
United States of America:
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II

For the Government
of Japan:
NOBUSUKE KISHI

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Postal Services

Universal postal convention, with final protocol, annex, regulations of execution, and provisions regarding air mail and final protocol thereto. Signed at Brussels July 11, 1952. Entered into force July 1, 1953. TIAS 2800.

Ratification deposited: Nicaragua, March 28, 1957.

Sugar

International sugar agreement. Done at London under date of October 1, 1953. Entered into force May 5, 1954. TIAS 3177.

Accession deposited: Panama, March 1, 1957.

Trade and Commerce

International convention to facilitate the importation of commercial samples and advertising material. Dated at Geneva November 7, 1952. Entered into force November 20, 1955.¹

Accession deposited: New Zealand, April 19, 1957 (applicable to the Cook Islands (including Niue), the Tokelau Islands, and the Trust Territory of Western Samoa).

Weather

Convention of the World Meteorological Organization. Done at Washington October 11, 1947. Entered into force March 23, 1950. TIAS 2052.

Ratification deposited: Chile, May 9, 1957.

Accession deposited: Ghana, May 6, 1957.

BILATERAL

Colombia

Agreement supplementing the agricultural commodities agreements of June 23 and December 20, 1955 (TIAS 3262 and 3448). Effectuated by exchange of notes at Bogotá April 16, 1957. Entered into force April 16, 1957.

Agricultural commodities agreement under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 454, 455; 69 Stat. 44, 721), and memorandum of understanding. Signed at Bogotá April 16, 1957. Entered into force April 16, 1957.

Luxembourg

Agreement amending annex B of the mutual defense assistance agreement of January 27, 1950 (TIAS 2014). Effectuated by exchange of notes at Luxembourg April 15 and 25, 1957. Entered into force April 25, 1957.

Peru

Agreement amending the Army mission agreement of Sep-

¹ Not in force for the United States.

tember 6, 1956 (TIAS 3636). Effectuated by exchange of notes at Lima April 8 and 24, 1957. Entered into force April 24, 1957.

Syria

Agreement amending the air transport agreement of April 28, 1947 (TIAS 3285). Effectuated by exchange of notes at Damascus October 22, 1956, and April 30, 1957. Entered into force April 30, 1957.

A report on the attempt of international communism to get a foothold in the Western Hemisphere by gaining control of the political institutions of Guatemala.

The International Atomic Energy Agency. Pub. 6477. International Organization and Conference Series I, 33. 12 pp. 15¢.

A pamphlet containing information on the establishment and activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Mutual Defense Assistance. TIAS A-3648. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Norway, amending annex C of agreement of January 27, 1950, as amended. Exchange of notes—Dated at Oslo November 15 and 23, 1955. Entered into force November 23, 1955.

International Wheat Agreement, 1956. TIAS 3709. 117 pp. 50¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and other governments. Formulated at the United Nations Wheat Conference April 25, 1956—Open for signature at Washington through May 18, 1956.

Guaranty of Private Investments. TIAS 3715. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Luxembourg. Exchange of notes—Signed at Luxembourg November 26 and December 7, 1956. Entered into force December 7, 1956.

Defense of Iceland Pursuant to North Atlantic Treaty. TIAS 3716. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Iceland. Exchanges of notes—Signed at Reykjavik December 6, 1956. Entered into force December 6, 1956.

German External Debts. TIAS 3717. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and other governments, amending administrative agreement of December 1, 1954—Signed at Bonn November 30, 1956. Entered into force November 30, 1956.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 3718. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and China, amending article I, paragraph 1, of agreement of August 14, 1956. Exchange of notes—Signed at Taipei October 5 and 12, 1956. Entered into force October 12, 1956.

Air Transport Services. TIAS 3719. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, amending agreement of February 11, 1946, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington December 2 and 28, 1956. Entered into force December 28, 1956.

United States Navy Medical Research Center at Taipei, Taiwan. TIAS 3720. 7 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and China, amending agreement of October 14, 1955. Exchange of notes—Signed at Taipei December 27, 1956. Entered into force December 27, 1956.

Defense-Offshore Procurement Program. TIAS 3721. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Spain, amending agreement of July 30, 1954, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Madrid December 21 and 27, 1956. Entered into force December 27, 1956.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 3722. 3 pp. 5¢.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

The Senate on May 8 confirmed Charles E. Bohlen to be Ambassador to the Philippines. (For biographic details, see press release 169 dated March 22.)

The Senate on May 9 confirmed Scott McLeod to be Ambassador to Ireland. (For biographic details, see press release 199 dated April 9.)

The Senate on May 9 confirmed Henry J. Taylor to be Ambassador to Switzerland. (For biographic details, see press release 211 dated April 12.)

Resignations

Robert D. Coe as Ambassador to Denmark, effective May 6.

Designations

John H. Burns as Executive Director, Bureau of European Affairs, effective May 15.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

UNESCO: The First Nine Years—A Report of the Fifth National Conference of the U.S. National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Pub. 6463. International Organization and Conference Series IV, UNESCO 37. 87 pp. Limited distribution.

A report of the Fifth National Conference of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, on November 3-5, 1955.

A Case History of Communist Penetration—Guatemala. Pub. 6465. Inter-American Series 52. xi, 73 pp. 30¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Thailand, amending agreement of June 21, 1955. Exchange of notes—Signed at Bangkok December 14, 1956. Entered into force December 14, 1956.

Special Economic Assistance. TIAS 3723. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Jordan. Signed at Amman June 17, 1954. Entered into force June 17, 1954.

Special Economic Assistance. TIAS 3724. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Jordan, amending agreement of June 17, 1954. Signed at Amman March 17, 1956. Entered into force March 17, 1956.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 3725. 21 pp. 15¢.

Agreement, with memorandum of understanding, and exchanges of notes between the United States of America and Brazil—Signed at Washington December 31, 1956. Entered into force December 31, 1956.

Technical Cooperation—Jordan Program. TIAS 3726. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Jordan, amending agreement of February 12, 1952, as amended. Signed at Amman December 7, 1954. Entered into force December 7, 1954.

Bahamas Long Range Proving Ground—Civil Air Services Within the Bahamas, Turks, and Caicos Islands and Jamaica. TIAS 3727. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington December 6, 1956, and January 4, 1957. Entered into force January 4, 1957.

Air Force Mission to Haiti. TIAS 3728. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Haiti, extending agreement of January 4, 1949, as extended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington December 3, 1956, and January 7, 1957. Entered into force January 7, 1957; operative retroactively January 4, 1957.

Financial Arrangements for Furnishing Certain Supplies and Services to Naval Vessels. TIAS 3729. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Australia. Exchange of notes—Signed at Canberra December 19 and 31, 1956. Entered into force January 28, 1957.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Disposition of Equipment and Materials. TIAS 3730. 5 pp. 5¢.

Arrangement between the United States of America and Chile. Exchange of notes—Signed at Santiago November 30 and December 28, 1956. Entered into force December 28, 1956.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Loan of Vessels to Brazil. TIAS 3731. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Brazil. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington January 12 and 16, 1957. Entered into force January 16, 1957.

Defense—Maintenance of Haines-Fairbanks Pipeline. TIAS 3732. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Canada. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ottawa January 16 and 17, 1957. Entered into force January 17, 1957.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 3733. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea, amending agreement of March 18, 1956. Exchange of notes—Signed at Seoul January 7, 1957. Entered into force January 7, 1957; operative retroactively March 18, 1956.

Air Force Mission to Chile. TIAS 3734. 3 pp. 5¢.

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Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 3735. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Yugoslavia, amending agreement of November 3, 1956. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington January 23 and 24, 1957. Entered into force January 24, 1957.

Certificates of Airworthiness for Imported Aircraft. TIAS 3736. 8 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and France. Exchange of notes—Signed at Paris August 6 and December 14, 1956. Entered into force December 14, 1956.

United States Educational Commission in Turkey. TIAS 3737. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Turkey, modifying agreement of December 27, 1949. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ankara January 8, 1957. Entered into force January 8, 1957.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 3738. 22 pp. 15¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Belgium, amending agreement of June 15, 1955. Signed at Washington July 12, 1956. Entered into force January 18, 1957.

Whaling—Amendments to the Schedule to the International Whaling Convention signed at Washington on December 2, 1946. TIAS 3739. 2 pp. 5¢.

Adopted at the eighth meeting of the International Whaling Commission, London, July 16-20, 1956. Entered into force November 1, 1956.

United States Educational Foundation in Thailand. TIAS 3740. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Thailand, amending agreement of July 1, 1950, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Bangkok January 21, 1957. Entered into force January 21, 1957.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 3741. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Greece, supplementing agreement of August 8, 1956. Signed at Athens January 21, 1957. Entered into force January 21, 1957.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 3742. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington January 30, 1957. Entered into force January 30, 1957.

Defense—Establishment of Guided Missile Station on Island of Fernando de Noronha. TIAS 3744. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Brazil. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rio de Janeiro January 21, 1957. Entered into force January 21, 1957.

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†265	5/6	Reply to Czech note on U.S. air attaché.
266	5/6	Amendment to air transport agreement with Syria.
267	5/6	U.S.–Libya joint communique: Richards mission.
†268	5/6	NATO parliamentarians to visit U.S.
†269	5/6	Reduction in passport fees.
270	5/7	Rubottom: "The Element of Faith in the Conduct of Foreign Affairs."
*271	5/6	Program for visit of President Ngo Dinh Diem.
272	5/7	U.S.–Tunisia joint communique: Richards mission.
†273	5/7	EURATOM report published.
274	5/7	Recognition of Government of Haiti.
275	5/7	NATO communique.
276	5/7	Dulles: arrival statement.
*277	5/8	Inter-American Committee of Presidential Representatives.
278	5/8	Richards: arrival statement.
279	5/9	80th anniversary of Rumanian independence.
280	5/9	U.S.–Morocco joint communique: Richards mission.
281	5/9	Richards: radio and TV report.
†282	5/10	Dulles: testimony on IAEA.
†283	5/10	Murphy: National Council of Catholic Men.
*284	5/10	Richards: news conference.

*Not printed.

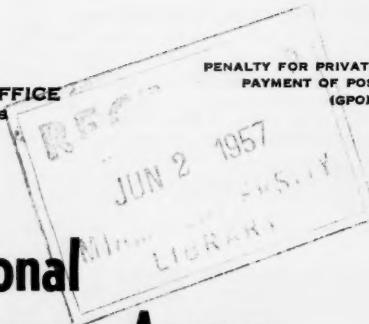
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